

A NEW EDITION
OF
TOLAND'S
HISTORY OF THE DRUIDS:

WITH
AN ABSTRACT OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS;
AND
A Copious Appendix,
CONTAINING
NOTES CRITICAL, PHILOLOGICAL, AND EXPLANATORY,

BY
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PREFACE.

EARLY imbued with a competent knowledge of the Greek and Roman languages, I imbibed, along with them, every possible prejudice against the Celts. I was, from my infancy, taught to consider them a parcel of *demi-savages*, their language an unintelligible jargon, and their boasted antiquity the raving of a disordered imagination. Dazzled with the splendour of the *classic page*, I endeavoured to derive every thing from the Greek and Roman languages. I had even gone the *hopeful* length of deriving *Penpont* from *Pene Pontus*; *Catterthun* from *Castra Thani*; *Dunnipace* from *Duni Pacis*; *Cruden* from *Cruor Danorum*; with a thousand other fooleries of the same kind.

About twenty years ago, the treatise now offered to the public, fell into my hands. I was astonished to find that it tore up by the roots the whole philological system, which I had so long held sacred and invulnerable. The boasted precedence of the Greek and Roman languages now appeared, at least, doubtful. Determined to probe the matter to the bottom, I devoted my serious attention to the history, the antiquities, and language of the Celts: the result was, that I found it established by the most unquestionable authorities that the Celtic language was a dialect of the primary language of Asia; that the Celts were the aboriginal inhabitants of Europe, and that they had among them, from the most remote antiquity, an order of *Literati* named

Druids, to whom the Greeks and Romans ascribe a degree of philosophical celebrity, inferior to none of the sages of antiquity. These important points being fixed, every difficulty vanished, and the similarity of the European languages to that of the Celts, can be satisfactorily accounted for.

Respecting the origin of language, we have no occasion to resort to hypothesis or conjecture. It is a point clearly and absolutely determined by the *sacred records*, the best of all evidence. Language was the immediate gift of God to man. It formed a constituent and essential part of our great and general ancestor, and constitutes the noblest characteristic of humanity. Without it reason had been mute, and every mental faculty languid and inert.

From the same sacred source we know, that the whole human race spoke one and the same language, up to the building of Babel, when mankind were dispersed by the intervention of Providence, that the most distant parts of the world might be inhabited. The confusion of languages, which then took place, cannot be taken literally and absolutely, otherwise it must follow that there were as many different languages as individuals at Babel. Hence no two individuals would have been intelligible to each other, and the purposes of social intercourse, for which alone language was conferred on man, would have been wholly defeated. The term *confusion of language* is, most probably, nothing more than a strong oriental metaphor, expressive of dissention or discordancy. Most languages have such a metaphor; and even among ourselves, when we see two persons engaged in a violent verbal altercation, there is nothing more common than to express it by saying, *they are not speaking the same way*. Intervention of time and place will innovate any language; and the simple fact of the *dispersion of mankind*, will sufficiently account for all the alterations which language has since undergone.

Nothing has so much perplexed philologists, as the affinity, or, as it is more commonly called, the intermixture of languages. The fact is, the primary language of Asia, or, in other words, the language of Babel, is the groundwork of the whole, and all of

them retain stronger or fainter marks of affinity, in proportion as they are primary, intermediate, or more remote branches of this primary root. Of all the *phænomena* of language, the most remarkable is the affinity of the *Celtic* and *Sanscrit*, which cannot possibly have come in contact for more than three thousand years, and must, therefore, owe their similarity to the radical tincture of the primary language of Asia. The Braminical tenets, religious rites, knowledge of astronomy, and severity of discipline, so much resemble the Druidical, as hardly to leave a doubt of their having been originally the same.

That the Celtic is a dialect of the primary language of Asia, has received the sanction of that celebrated philologist the late Professor Murray, in his *Prospectus* to the philosophy of language. That the Celts were the *aborigines* of Europe, and their language the aboriginal one, even Pinkerton himself is obliged to admit. It is a point, on all hands conceded, that neither colonies nor conquerors can annihilate the aboriginal language of a country. So true is this, that, even at the present day, the Celtic names still existing over the greater part of Europe, and even in Asia itself, afford sufficient *data* whereby to determine the prevalence of the Celtic language, the wide extent of their ancient territories, and their progress from east to west. The Roman language unquestionably derives its affinity to the *Sanscrit* through the medium of the Celtic; and to any one who pays minute attention to the subject, it will appear self-evident that the Doric dialect of the Greek, founded on the Celtic, laid the foundation of the language of Rome. The *Gothic*, over the whole extent of Germany, and the greater part of Britain and Ireland; the Phœnician, or Moorish, in Spain, &c. &c. &c. are, all of them, merely recent superinductions ingrafted on the Celtic—the *aboriginal root*. Conquerors generally alter the form or exterior of the language of the conquered, to their own idiom; but the basis or-groundwork is always that of the aboriginal language. The Roman language *Gothicized* produced the Italian. The Celtic in Gaul (with an admixture of the *lingua rustica Romana*) *Gothicized*, produced the French. The old British (a

dialect of the Celtic) *Saxonized*, produced the English, &c. &c. &c. Whoever would rear a philological system radically sound (as far, at least, as respects the languages of Europe), must, therefore, commence with the Celtic, otherwise he will derive the *cause* from the *effect*—the *root* from the *branches*.

Though the treatise now published contains, in substance, all that is certainly known respecting the Druids, still it is much to be regretted that Mr. Toland did not live to accomplish his greater work. No man will, perhaps, ever arise equally qualified for the task. Dr. Smith, indeed, professes to give us a detailed *History of the Druids*, but the moment he quits the path chalked out by Mr. Toland, he plunges headlong into the ravings of (what Mr. Pinkerton denominates) *Celtic madness*. The candid reader will hardly believe (though it is an absolute truth) that he ascribes to the Druids the invention of *telescopes* and *gunpowder*. The fact is, that the stores of classic information respecting the Druids were greatly exhausted by Mr. Toland; and Dr. Smith could find nothing more to say on the subject.

The great *desideratum* for a complete history of the Druids, is the publication of the Irish manuscripts. What a meagre figure would the history of the *Levitical Priesthood* make, had we no other information respecting them, than what is contained in the Greek and Roman page. Dr. Smith could not condescend on one Druid, whilst Mr. Toland, from the Irish manuscripts, has given us the names of a dozen. He also assures us, that much of their mythology, their formularies, and many other important particulars respecting them, are still preserved in the Irish records. Nor can we doubt the fact. Ireland was the *ne plus ultra* of Celtic migration; and whatever is recoverable of the ancient Celtic history and literature, is here only to be found.

The Irish manuscripts (the grand *desideratum* for perfecting the history of the Druids) were to me wholly inaccessible. The notes which form the appendix to the present edition, are chiefly derived from the Greek and Roman classics. In whatever manner they may be received by the public, their merit or demerit will exclusively rest with myself. On the score of assistance

(with the exception of some remarks on the Hebrew word *Chil*, obligingly furnished by the reverend David Lyal of Caraldston) I have not one obligation to acknowledge.

To my numerous subscribers I am highly indebted. That a work so little known, and the editor still less, should have received so liberal a share of public patronage, could hardly have been anticipated. Among the many individuals who have exerted themselves in procuring subscriptions, it would be ungrateful not to mention Mr. John Smith, post-master, Brechin; Mr. Walter Greig, tenant, Kirkton Mill; Patrick Rolland, Esq. of Newton; Mr. Forbes Frost, stationer, Aberdeen; Mr. James Dow, supervisor of excise, and Mr. John Smith, stationer, Montrose; Mr. George Anderson, tenant, Carlungie; Mr. David Duncan, tenant, Inchock; and particularly Mr. David Gibson, post-master, Arbroath, whose exertions have been great and indefatigable.

I am sorry, that, in the course of these notes, I have had occasion so frequently to mention Mr. Pinkarton. The truth is, that gentleman has saved me a world of labour, by concentrating into one *focus*, whatever could militate against the honour, or even the existence, of the Celts. A reply to him is, therefore, an answer to all who have adopted, or may adopt, the same erroneous theory. I am fully sensible, that, in combating the *paradoxes* of this gentleman, I have sometimes betrayed a little warmth. But this, I flatter myself, will be found hardly as a *drop in the bucket*, compared to his own boisterous scurrility. He is, in fact, a second *Ishmael*. His hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him. To him, and his favourite Goths, I do not bear the slightest prejudice. But the man who can calmly behold the deliberate and uniform perversion of historic truth—the unoffending Celts, and the sacred records, trampled under foot, with the most sovereign and satirical contempt, in order to form the *basis* of the wildest *Chimæra* which ever disordered a human brain, must be endowed with feelings which I would not wish to possess.

The reader is respectfully cautioned not to mistake the obso-

lete mode of writing in Toland's treatise, for typographical errors. So scrupulously exact have I been in presenting him to the public in his native dress, that I have not even ventured to alter what, in some instances, appeared to be the mistakes of the printer. In the other parts of the work, I am happy to observe that the errors are few and venial; and a list of all such is given, as could in any degree obscure the sense, or perplex the reader.

RT. HUDDLESTON.

ERRATA.

- Page 29, line 15, for *there verse*, read *the reverse*.
 40, line 23, for *Cirea*, read *Circa*.
 43, line 4, for *favourable*, read *unfavourable*.
 96, line 24, for *koechus*, read *koecus*.
 197, line 27, for *orbs*, read *orbē*.
 260, line 3, for *Cloumba*, read *Columba*.
 276, line 26, for *Samanai*, read *Samanaei*.
 line 28, for *Samanoi*, read *Samanaei*.
 279, line 30, for *Choihidh*, read *Choibhidh*.
 287, line 26, for *sacram*, read *sacrum*.
 325, line 14, for *their*, read *there*.
 339, line 6, for *sum*, read *sunt*.
 375, line 36, for *Britains*, read *Britons*.
 395, line 141, for *partibus*, read *paribus*.

ABSTRACT

OF THE

LIFE OF JOHN TOLAND.

JOHN TOLAND was born on the 30th November, 1670, in the most northern peninsula in Ireland, on the isthmus whereof stands Londonderry. That peninsula was originally called *Inis-Eogan*, or *Inis-Eogain*, but is now called *Enis-Owen*. Toland had the name of *Janus Junius* given him at the font, and was called by that name in the school roll every morning; but the other boys making a jest of it, the master ordered him to be called *John*, which name he kept ever after.

Mr. Toland is reported to have been the son of a popish priest; and, he hath been abused by Abbot Tilladet, Bishop Huetius, and others, on the ground of his alleged illegitimacy: which, were it true, is a most base and ridiculous reproach; the child, in such a case, being entirely innocent of the guilt of his parents. Had Mr. Toland been really

illegitimate, which was not the case, no infamy could have attached to him on that account, unless he can be supposed to have had the power of directing the mode of his coming into existence. The following testimonial, given him at Prague, where he was residing in 1708, will, however, sufficiently remove so foolish and groundless an imputation. It runs thus:

Infra scripti testamur Dom. Joannem Toland, ortum esse ex honesta, nobili et antiquissima familia, quæ per plures centenos annos, ut Regni Historia et continua monstrant memoria, in Peninsula Hiberniæ Enis-Owen dicta prope urbem Londino-Deriensem in Ultonia, perduravit. In cujus rei firmiorem fidem, nos ex eadem patria oriundi propriis manibus subscripsimus, Pragæ in Bohemia, hac die 2. Jan. 1708.

*Joannes O'Niell superior Collegii Hibernorum.
L.S. Francisus O'Denlin, S. Theologiæ Professor.
Rudolphus O'Neill, S. Theol. Lector.*

TRANSLATION.

“ We subscribers testify, that Mr. John Toland is
“ descended of an honourable, noble, and very an-
“ cient family, which resided several centuries on
“ the Peninsula of Ireland, called *Enis-Owen*, near
“ the city of Londonderry in Ulster, which the
“ history of that kingdom, and continual mention
“ of the family clearly establish. For the surer
“ credence of this, we, natives of the same country,

“ have subscribed with our own hands at Prague
 “ in Bohemia, this 2d January, 1708.”

The Reader will see from this certificate of the Irish Franciscans at Prague, that Mr. Toland was honourably, nobly, and anciently, descended.

We may, however, take it for granted, that his relations were papists; for in his preface to *Christianity not Mysteriorious*, he tells us, “ that he was
 “ educated from the cradle in the grossest superstition and idolatry, but God was pleased to
 “ make his own reason, and such as made use of
 “ theirs, the happy instruments of his conversion.” He again informs us, in his *Apology*, “ that he was
 “ not sixteen years old when he became as zealous
 “ against popery, as he has ever since continued.”

From the school at Redcastle, near Londonderry, he went in 1687, to the college of Glasgow; and after three years stay there, visited Edinburgh, where he was created Master of Arts on the 30th of June, 1690, and received the usual diploma from the professors, of which the following is a copy.

Universis et singulis ad quos præsentēs literæ pervenient, NOS universitatis Jacobi Regis Edinburgensæ Professores, Salutem in Domino sempiternam comprecamur: Unaque testamur ingenuum hunc bonæ Spei Juvenem Magistrum Joannem Toland Hibernum, moribus, diligentia, et laudabili successu se no-

*bis ita approbasse ut post editum Philosophici pro-
fectus examen, Solenni more Magister in Artibus
liberalibus renuntiaretur, in Comitibus nostris Lau-
reatis anno Salutis Millesimo, Sexcentesimo et No-
nagesimo, trigesimo die Junii: Quapropter non du-
bitamus eum nunc a Nobis in patriam redeuntem,
ut egregium Adolescentem, omnibus quos adire, vel
quibuscum versari contigerit, de meliori nota com-
mendare, sperantes illum (opitulante divina gratia)
Literis hisce Testimonialibus fore abunde responsu-
rum. In quorum fidem inclyta Civitas Edinburgum
Academiae hujus parens et Altrix sigillo suo publico
litteras syngraphis Nostris porro confirmari jussit.*

Al. Monro, S. S. T. D. Professor Primarius.

Jo. Strachan, S. S. T. D. ejusdemque Professor.

D. Gregorie, Math. P.

J. Herbertus Kennedy, P. P.

L. S. J. Drummond, H. L. P.

Tho. Burnet, Ph. P.

*Robertus Henderson, B. et Academiae ab Archi-
vis, &c.*

*Dabamus in supradicto
Athenæo Regio 22do.
die Julii anno Æræ
Christianæ 1690.*

TRANSLATION.

“To all and every one, to whom the present let-
“ter may come, We the professors of the univer-
“sity of Edinburgh, founded by King James, wish
“eternal salvation in the Lord: and at the same
“time testify, that this ingenuous youth, Mr. John
“Toland, of excellent promise, has so highly satis-

“ fied us by his good conduct, diligence and laud-
 “ able progress, that, after a public examination of
 “ his progress in philosophy, he was, after the usual
 “ manner, declared Master of the liberal Arts, in
 “ our *Comitia Laureata*, in the year of Redemption
 “ 1690, 30th June: Wherefore we do not hesitate
 “ to recommend him, now returning from us to his
 “ native country, as an excellent young man, to all
 “ persons of better note, to whom he may have ac-
 “ cess, or with whom he may sojourn, hoping that
 “ he (through the aid of Divine Grace) will abun-
 “ dantly answer the character given him in this
 “ diploma. In testimony of which, the ancient
 “ city of Edinburgh, the parent and benefactress
 “ of this academy, has ordered this writing with
 “ our subscriptions, to receive the additional con-
 “ firmation of their public seal.”

Given in the aforesaid Royal
 Athenæum, 22d July, 1690.

Mr. John Toland having received his diploma,
 returned to Glasgow, where he resided but a short
 time. On his departure, the magistrates of that
 city gave him the following recommendation.

“ We, the magistrates of Glasgow, under sub-
 “ scribing, do hereby certify and declare, to all
 “ whom these presents may concern, That the
 “ bearer, John Toland, Master of Arts, did reside
 “ here for some yeares, as a student at the univer-
 “ sitie in this city, during which time he behaved
 “ himself as ane trew protestant, and loyal sub-

“ject, as witness our hands, at Glasgow, the penult
 “day of July one thousand six hundred and nine-
 “tie yeares, and the common seal of office of the
 “said city is hereunto affixt.

“JOHN LECK.

“L. S.

GEORGE NISBITT.”

It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Toland resided at Glasgow during the years 1688 and 1689, the two last of the bloody persecution of the Church of Scotland, and must have been an eye witness of many tyrannical and relentless scenes. It is well known, that the students of Glasgow, as a collective body, repeatedly joined the citizens, in repelling several of the military parties sent against them; and there can hardly remain a doubt, that Toland made one of the number. This sufficiently accounts for the certificate given him by the magistrates of Glasgow.

Mr. Toland dates his conversion from the 16th year of his age, which nearly coincides with his arrival in Glasgow; for it will be recollected, that he did not complete his 20th year, till the 30th of November after leaving this city. It is therefore most probable, that he was here converted from popery, and imbibed these notions of the simplicity and purity of christianity, which he afterwards retained.

Instead of returning to Ireland, Mr. Toland went to England, where he lived (as he informs us in

his *Apology*) in as good protestant families as any in the kingdom, till he went to the famous university of Leyden, to perfect his studies, under the celebrated Spanhemius, Triglandius, &c. There he was supported by some eminent dissenters in England, who had conceived great hopes from his uncommon parts, and might flatter themselves, he would one day become the Colossus of the party; for he himself informs us, in a pamphlet published at London in 1697, that he had lived in their communion, ever since he quitted popery. “Mr. Toland (says he, in answer to the imputation of being a rigid non-conformist) will never deny but the real simplicity of the dissenters’ worship; and the seeming equity of their discipline, (into which, being so young, he could not distinctly penetrate) did gain extraordinarily on his affections, just as he was newly delivered from the insupportable yoke of the most pompous and tyrannical policy that ever enslaved mankind, under the name or shew of religion. But, when greater experience, and more years, had a little ripened his judgment, he easily perceived that the differences were not so wide, as to appear irreconcilable; or at least, that men who were sound protestants on both sides, should barbarously cut one anothers’ throats, or indeed give any disturbance to the society about them. And as soon as he understood the late heats and animosities did not totally, if at all, proceed from a concern for mere religion, he allowed

himself a latitude in several things, that would have been matter of scruple to him before. His travels increased, and the study of ecclesiastical history perfected this disposition, wherein he continues to this hour; for, whatever his own opinion of these differences be, yet he finds so essential an agreement between French, Dutch, English, Scottish, and other protestants, that he is resolved never to lose the benefit of an instructive discourse, in any of their churches, on that score; and, it must be a civil, not a religious interest, that can engage him against any of these parties, not thinking all their private notions wherein they differ, worth endangering, much less subverting, the public peace of a nation. If this (pursues he) makes a man a non-conformist, then Mr. Toland is one unquestionably."

In 1692, Mr. Daniel Williams, a dissenting minister, published a book, entitled, *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated*, in opposition to Dr. Crisp. Mr. Toland desired the author of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* to give an abstract of it in that journal. The journalist complied; and, to the abstract of Mr. Williams's book, prefixed Mr. Toland's commendatory letter, and styles him Student in Divinity. *Bibliothèque Universelle, tom 23d, page 506.*

Having staid about two years at Leyden, he returned to England, and soon after went to Oxford, where, besides the conversation of learned men,

he had the advantage of the public library. Here he collected materials on various subjects, and composed some pieces, among others, a *Dissertation*, wherein he proves the received history of the tragical death of Atilius Regulus, the Roman consul, to be a fable; and, with that candour which uniformly characterizes him, owns himself indebted for this notion to Palmerius.

In 1695, he left Oxford, and came to London. In 1696, he published his *Christianity not Myste-rious*; or, a *Treatise, shewing that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to reason, nor above it; and, that no Christian Doctrine can properly be called a Mystery*. Mr. Toland defines MYSTERY to be a thing intelligible in itself, but which could not be known, without special revelation. And, to prove the assertion, he examines all the passages in the New Testament, where the word MYSTERY occurs; and shews, First, that MYSTERY is read for the Gospel; or, the Christian religion in general, as it was a future dispensation, totally hid from the Gentiles, and but imperfectly known to the Jews. Secondly, that some peculiar doctrines, occasionally revealed by the apostles, are said to be *manifested mysteries*; that is, *unfolded secrets*: and Thirdly, that *mystery* is put for any thing veiled under parables; or enigmatical forms of speech. But, he declares, at the same time, that, if his adversaries think fit to call a *mystery* whatever is either absolutely unintelligible to us, or whereof

we have but inadequate ideas; he is ready to admit of as many *mysteries* in religion as they please.

So far, the candid reader will be apt to think there is no great harm done. If Mr. Toland's adversaries did not choose to adopt his definition of the word *mystery*, he professes himself willing to accede to theirs; and, indeed, all that has been advanced on either side of the question, is merely a dispute about words. He pretends, that he can give as clear and intelligible an explanation of the *mysteries of the gospel, as of the phenomena of nature*: and, do not our divines do the same thing, by attempting to give a rational explanation of the Trinity, and the Resurrection, the greatest mysteries of the Christian religion? Such explanations are the tests of the soundness of their doctrine; and, who knows but Mr. Toland's explanation, had he given one, might have been orthodox.

This treatise alarmed the public; and several clergymen replied to it. Messrs. Beeconsal, Beverley, Norris, and Elys; Doctors Pain, and Stillingfleet; the author of the *Occasional Papers*; Messrs. Millar, Gailhard, and Synge, all entered the lists. It was even presented by the grand jury of Middlesex; but, this measure had no other effect, than to promote the sale of the book, mankind being naturally prone to pry into what is forbidden them.

This same year, Mr. Toland published a *Discourse on Coins*, by Signior Bernardo Davanzati, a gentleman of Florence, delivered in the academy

there, anno 1588; translated from Italian by John Toland.

Christianity not Mysteriorious having found its way into Ireland, made some noise there, as well as in England; but the clamour was considerably increased, on the author's arrival there, in the beginning of 1697. Mr. Mollineux, in a letter to Mr. Locke, dated 10th April, 1697, says, "The Irish clergy were alarmed against him to a mighty degree; and, that he had his welcome to that city, by hearing himself harangued against, from the pulpit, by a prelate of that country."

Mr. Toland himself tells us, in his *Apology*, that he was hardly arrived in that country, when he found himself warmly attacked from the pulpit, which at first could not but startle the people, who, till then, were equal strangers to him and his book; but that in a short time, they were so well accustomed to this subject, that it was as much expected, as if it had been prescribed in the *Rubrick*. He also informs us, that his own silence respecting the book in question; made his enemies insinuate that he was not the author of it.

When this rough treatment of Mr. Toland from the pulpit proved insignificant, the grand jury was solicited to present him, for a book written and published in England. The presentment of the grand jury of Middlesex, was printed with an emphatical title, and cried about the streets. Mr. Toland was accordingly presented there, the last

day of the term, in the Court of King's Bench. At that time, Mr. Peter Brown, senior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, published a book against Mr. Toland's *Christianity not Mysteriorious*, in which he represented him as an inveterate enemy to all revealed religion; a knight errant; one who openly affected to be the head of a sect, and designed to be as famous an impostor as Mahomet. Mr. Brown was afterwards made bishop of Cork; and Mr. Toland used frequently to say, "That he made him a bishop." This is the same *jacobitical gentleman*, who, because he could not bear that any person should drink the health of King William, wrote a pamphlet against health-drinking, as being a profanation of the Lord's Supper!

Mr. Mollineux sent Mr. Brown's book to Mr. Locke, and, in a letter to him dated 20th of July, 1697, says, "Mr. Toland has had his opposers
" here, as you will find by a book I have sent you.
" The author is my acquaintance; but, two things
" I shall never forgive, in his book: the one is the
" foul language and opprobrious epithets he has
" bestowed on Mr. Toland. The other is, upon
" several occasions, calling in the aid of the civil
" magistrate, and delivering Mr. Toland up to se-
" cular punishment. This, indeed, is a *killing ar-*
" *gument*; but may dispose some to think, that
" where the strength of reason failed him, there
" he flies to the strength of the sword," &c.

Mr. Toland, it seems, was dreaded in Ireland

as a second Goliath, who at the head of the Philistines defied the armies of Israel, in so much, that Mr. Hancock, the recorder of Dublin, in his congratulatory harangue to the lords justices of that kingdom, in the name of his corporation, begged their lordships would protect the church from all its adversaries; but particularly from the Tolandists.

But to give the last and finishing stroke to Mr. Toland's book, it was brought before the parliament. Several persons eminent for their birth, good qualities, and fortune, opposed the whole proceedings; but finding themselves over-ruled in this, they urged, that the objectionable passages should be read: that Toland should be heard in his defence personally, or at least, by letter. All these propositions were rejected, and Mr. Toland, unheard and undefended, was ordered to be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms. Mr. Toland made his escape, but his book was burnt by the common hangman, on the 11th September, 1697, before the gate of the parliament-house, and also in the open street, before the town-house, the sheriffs and all the constables attending.

Dr. South, in the preface to his third volume of sermons, compliments the archbishop of Dublin, on his treatment of Toland, whom he calls a Mahometan Christian; and particularly, that he made the kingdom too hot for him, without the help of

a *faggot*. The faggot had been kindled in Scotland from the one end to the other, during the twenty-eight years persecution, and innocent and holy men burnt alive, merely for being non-conformists, or, in other words, for not preferring the dogmas of arbitrary and interested men, to the sacred scriptures. Toland's crimes appear to have been much of the same kind, and it was very consistent in the doctor to hint at a similar punishment.

On Mr. Toland's return to London, he published his *Apology*, giving an account of his conduct, and vindicating himself from the aspersions and persecutions of his enemies.

In 1698 party-disputes ran high. The partizans of the house of Stuart wished to facilitate the Pretender's return, by keeping up no standing army at all. Their opponents took different ground. Several pamphlets appeared, and, among the rest, one from the pen of Mr. Toland, wherein he recommends modelling the militia on such a plan, as to render it adequate to the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and repulsion of foreign invasion. Indeed, on every occasion, we find Mr. Toland a staunch friend to the revolution, and the protestant succession; and though this was not the ostensible, still there is every reason to reckon it the real cause of his persecution; his enemies, almost to a man, entertaining very different sentiments.

This same year, he published the *Life of John Milton*, which was prefixed to his works, in three volumes folio. In the course of Milton's life, Mr. Toland proved that *Icon Basilike* was not written by Charles 1st, but by Dr. Gauden, and took occasion to remark, that, when this imposition was practised on the nation, at no greater distance of time than forty years, he ceased to wonder how so many supposititious pieces, under the name of *Christ and his Apostles*, should be published, approved, &c. Had he denied the Trinity, or blasphemed the Holy Ghost, it would have been nothing in comparison of curtailing the literary fame of the royal martyr of the church of England.

Accordingly, Mr. Blackall, chaplain to the king, in a sermon preached before the House of Commons, 30th January, 1689, says, "We may
"cease to wonder, that he (Mr. Toland) should
"have the boldness, without proof, and against
"proof, to deny the authority of this book, who
"is such an infidel to doubt, and is shameless
"and impudent enough, even in print, and in a
"christian country, publicly to affront our holy
"religion, by declaring his doubt, that several
"pieces under the name of *Christ and his Apostles* (he must mean those received by the whole
"christian church, for I know of no other); are
"supposititious," &c. The reader will here smile, to see that Mr. Blackall rests the whole stress of Mr. Toland's infidelity, on his own ignorance.

Mr. Blackall expressly says, “ Mr. Toland must “ mean the books of the New Testament,” because he knows of no other. Excellent logician!

In order to vindicate himself, Mr. Toland published *Amyntor*, in which he re-doubles his arguments, to prove Dr. Gauden the author of *Icon Basilike*; and, at the same time, published a list of supposititious pieces, ascribed to Christ, his apostles, and other eminent men, extending to no less than forty-three octavo pages. After having given that catalogue, he proceeds thus:

“ Here is a long catalogue for Mr. Blackall, “ who, it is probable, will not think the more “ meanly of himself, for being unacquainted with “ these pieces: nor, if that were all, should I be “ forward to think the worse of him on this account: but I think he is to blame, for denying “ that there were any such, because he knew nothing of them; much less should he infer from “ thence, that I denied the scriptures; which “ scandal, however, as proceeding from ignorance, “ I heartily forgive him, as every good christian “ ought to do.”

What a calm, dignified, christian reply, to the very man, who, without the least shadow of fact, proclaimed Mr. Toland an impudent and shameless infidel, before the whole House of Commons. Poor Mr. Blackall was obliged to say something or other in his own defence. He published a pamphlet, wherein he labours hard to prove, that

Mr. Toland's words were liable to misapprehension; and says, "I charged Mr. Toland with doubting of the books of the *New Testament* but he declares, he does not mean those books, therefore we are now agreed: there can be no dispute between us on that subject."

In the same year, 1699, Mr. Toland published the *Memoirs of Denzil, Lord Hollis, Baron of Ifield, in Sussex*, from 1641 to 1648. The manuscript was put into his hands by the duke of Newcastle, who was one of his patrons and benefactors; and he dedicated the work to his grace.

In 1700, he published, in folio, Harrington's *Oceana*, with some other pieces of that ingenious author, not before printed, to which he prefixed the life of the author. From the preface to this work, which is dated 30th November, 1699, we learn Mr. Toland's exact age, for he there informs us, that this very day he was beginning his thirtieth year.

About the same time, appeared a pamphlet, entitled *Clito; or, the Force of Eloquence*. The printer gave Mr. Toland as the author. This piece consists of a dialogue between Clito and Adeisidæmon. This is a poetical performance. Mr. Toland is known by the name Adeisidæmon, which he translates, *unsuperstitious*. This was animadverted on, by an anonymous clergyman, who, after a torrent of Billingsgate abuse, translates Adeisidæmon (in open violation of all the

rules of etymology and common sense), *one that fears neither God nor devil*. To such pitiful lengths will the rancour of party-spirit drive men, when they are determined to calumniate with, or without, reason.

In the beginning of 1701, he published *The Art of Governing by Parties*, which he dedicated to King William the 3d; and, about the same time, published a pamphlet, in quarto, entitled, *Propositions for uniting the two East India Companies*.

In March following, the lower and upper house of convocation, with the concurrence of the bishops, resolved to proceed against Mr. Toland's *Christianity not Mysterious*, and his *Amyntor*, with all possible rigour. After passing some resolutions against these books, they found they could not proceed without a licence from the king. Rather than solicit this boon, they dropped their proceedings against Mr. Toland. Can any circumstance speak more strongly in the vindication of Mr. Toland? Can any thing shew the innocence of our author, in a clearer point of view, than that the whole united English hierarchy, durst not solicit a licence from the king to prosecute him, because they were sure it would be refused? This circumstance affords more than a presumption, that Mr. Toland's principal crimes, in the eyes of his enemies, were his predilection for presbyterianism, and attachment to King William.

Be that as it may, when on the death of the duke of Gloucester, an act was passed in June, 1701, for the better securing the protestant succession to the crown, Mr. Toland published his *Anglia Libera*; or, *The Limitation and Succession of the Crown of England Explained and Asserted; as grounded on his majesty's speech; the proceedings of parliament; the desires of the people; the safety of our religion; the nature of our constitution; the balance of Europe; and, the rights of mankind.* This treatise he dedicated to his patron, the duke of Newcastle.

The king having sent the earl of Macclesfield to Hanover, with the act of succession, Mr. Toland accompanied him, and presented his *Anglia Libera* to her electoral highness the Princess Sophia; and was the first who had the honour of kneeling and kissing her hand, on account of the act of succession. The earl of Macclesfield recommended him warmly to her highness. Mr. Toland staid there five or six weeks, and at his departure, their highnesses the electress dowager, and the elector, presented him with several gold medals, as a princely remuneration for the book he had written about the succession, in defence of their title and family. Her highness condescended to give him likewise portraits of herself, the elector, the young prince, and of her majesty the queen of Prussia, done in oil colours. The earl of Macclesfield, on his return, waited on the king at Lon-

don, and presented Mr. Toland, who had the honour of kissing his majesty's hand.

The parliament was dissolved 11th November, and a new one summoned to meet the 30th December. The Tory party appeared horribly afraid that Mr. Toland would obtain a seat in the ensuing parliament, and circulated a report that he was to be returned for Blechingley in Surry, a borough in the interest of Sir Robert Clayton. Mr. Toland, who had no intention whatever of this kind, contradicted the report, by an advertisement in the *Postman*. Even this harmless act could not pass without censure, but gave occasion to an anonymous author to publish a pamphlet, entitled, *Modesty Mistaken; or a Letter to Mr. Toland, upon his Declining to Appear in the Ensuing Parliament*.

On the opening of parliament, Mr. Toland published his *Paradoxes of State*, grounded chiefly on his majesty's princely, pious, and most gracious speech.

Soon after, he published *Reasons for Addressing his Majesty to invite into England, the Electress Dowager, and the Electoral Prince of Hanover; and for attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, &c.* This was answered by Mr. Luke Milburn. But, Mr. Toland had the high gratification to see parliament attend to his suggestions. An act was accordingly passed for the attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales;

and another, for the better security of his majesty's person, and the protestant succession, &c. and enjoining an oath of abjuration of the Pretender. Thus, instead of an enemy to religion, or civil liberty, we find him strenuously recommending the most efficacious measures for the preservation of both.

Some difference having arisen between the lower and upper house of convocation, on a point of jurisdiction, respecting their proceedings against *Christianity not Mystrious*, the year before, a paper war commenced between them, and several pamphlets appeared on both sides. Those written by the partizans of the upper house, were favourable to Mr. Toland; but, those written in favour of the lower house, there verse. He, therefore, seized this opportunity of publishing his *Vindicius Liberior*; being a vindication of his *Christianity not Mystrious*;—a full and clear account of his religious and civil principles; and, a justification of those called *Whigs and Commonwealth men*, against the mis-representations of all their opposers.

After the publication of this book, Mr. Toland went to the courts of Hanover and Berlin, where he was very graciously received by the Princess Sophia, and the queen of Prussia. He was often admitted to their conversation; and wrote some pieces, which he presented to her majesty. There he wrote, also, an account of the courts of Prussia and Hanover.

On his return to England, 1704, he published several philosophical letters; three of which he inscribed to the queen of Prussia, under the designation of *Serena*.

1st, *The Origin and Force of Prejudices*.

2d, *The History of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens*.

3d, *The Origin of Idolatry, and Reasons of Heathenism*.

4th, *A Letter to a Gentleman in Holland, shewing Spinoza's System of Philosophy to be without Principle or Foundation*.

5th, *Motion essential to Matter; in answer to some Remarks, by a noble Friend, on the confutation of Spinoza*. Mr. Toland informs us, that the queen of Prussia was pleased to ask his opinion, respecting the subjects treated of, in the three letters inscribed to her.

These letters were animadverted on, by Mr. Wotten, in a pamphlet, entitled, *Letters to Eusebia*.

At the same time, he published an English translation of the *Life of Æsop*, by Monsieur De Meziriac, and dedicated it to Anthony Collins, Esq.

In 1705, he published the following pieces.

1st, *Socinianism truly stated, &c.*

2d, *An Account of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover, dedicated to the duke of Somerset*.

3d, *The Ordinances, Statutes and Privileges, of the Royal Academy at Berlin*. Translated from the original.

The same year, Counsellor Pooley, and Dr. Drake, wrote the *Memorial of the Church of England*, with a view to influence the ensuing parliamentary election, by representing the Whig administration, as plotting the ruin of the Church.

By the direction of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, this memorial was answered, by Mr. Toland, in a pamphlet, entitled, “*The Memorial of the State of England, in Vindication of the Queen, the Church, and the Administration: designed to rectify the mutual mistakes of Protestants; and to unite their affections, in defence of our Religion and Liberty.*” On the suggestion of Mr. Harley, who was one of Mr. Toland’s patrons and benefactors, this treatise was published, without the author’s name.

This pamphlet was answered, by Thomas Raulins, Esq. who made a direct attack on the duke of Marlborough’s, and Mr. Harley’s conduct. Mr. William Stephens, rector of Sutton, in Surry, being found the publisher; and, refusing to bear evidence against Mr. Raulins, was sentenced to stand on the pillory; but, the sentence was afterwards remitted.

Mr. Toland was directed by Mr. Harley to answer this pamphlet, which he did; but, for some reasons, now unknown, the design was dropped, after part of Mr. Toland’s answer had been printed.

Mr. Harley having found among his manuscripts, a philippic against France, written in La-

tin, by one Cardinal Matthew, in 1514, gave it to Mr. Toland, who edited it, both in English and Latin: along with other violent expressions, it contains the following, *Gallorum Ungues non resecandos, sed penitus evellendos esse*; i. e. That the nails of the French were not to be pared, but torn out by the roots.

Soon after, he published *The Elector Palatin's Declaration*, lately published in favour of his protestant subjects, &c. This Mr. Toland did, at the particular request of the elector Palatine's minister.

In the spring, Mr. Toland went to Germany, and visited Berlin, Hanover, Dusseldorp, Vienna, and Prague in Bohemia. At Dusseldorp, he was most graciously received by his electoral highness, who, in consideration of the English pamphlet, published by him, presented him with a gold chain and medal, besides a hundred ducats. From Prague, he returned to Holland, where he staid till 1710.

In Holland, he published the following dissertations, viz.

1st, *Adeisidæmon, sive Titus Livius a Superstitione Vindicatus*, &c.

2do, *Origines Judaicæ*, &c. In the course of this dissertation, he animadverted on *Huetius' Demonstratio Evangelica*. He ridicules Huetius for affirming that several eminent persons recorded in the *Old Testament* are allegorized in the heathen mythology; and particularly Moses under the

names of Bacchus, Typho, Silenus, Priapus, and Adonis. Though Mr. Toland was unquestionably in the right, Huetius was greatly incensed, and expressed his resentment in a letter, first published in the *Journal of Trevoux*, and afterwards printed by Abbot Tilladet. It will be recollected, that these are the two gentlemen, who endeavoured to convict Mr. Toland of the high and unpardonable crime, of not directing his parents to propagate him legitimately.

In 1709, he published at Amsterdam, a second edition of his *Philippic* against France.

In 1710, he published, without his name, a French pamphlet, relating to Dr. Sacheverell.

While in Holland, he had the good fortune to get acquainted with prince Eugene of Savoy, who gave him several marks of his generosity.

After his return to England in 1711, he published the *Humours of Epsom*; and, at the same time, a translation of four of *Pliny's Letters*.

In 1712, he published 1mo. *A Letter against Popery*, written by Sophia Charlotte, late queen of Prussia. 2do. *Her Majesty's reasons for creating the electoral prince of Hanover a peer of that realm*. 3tio. *The Grand Mystery laid open*; namely, by dividing the protestants, to weaken the Hanoverian succession, &c.

About the same time, he published a new edition of *Cicero's works*, an undertaking for which he was eminently qualified. This work alone, is suffi-

cient to transmit Mr. Toland's name to posterity. It is extremely scarce, he having printed only a few copies, at his own charge, to serve his particular friends.

In 1713, he published *An Appeal to Honest People, against wicked Priests,* &c. And much about the same time, a pamphlet on the necessity of demolishing Dunkirk.

In 1714, he published a pamphlet relative to the restoration of Charles the 2d, by General Monk; also, a collection of letters, written by the general, relating to the same subject.

The same year, he published *The Funeral Elogy of her royal highness the late Princess Sophia,* &c. and much about the same time, *Reasons for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain,* &c. This he dedicated rather ironically, to the archbishops and bishops of both provinces.

In 1717, he published the *State Anatomy of Great Britain.* This was answered by Dr. Fiddes, chaplain to the earl of Oxford, and by Daniel De Foe. In reply, Mr. Toland published the second part of the *State Anatomy.*

In 1717, he published *Nazareus.* In this treatise, according to Mr. Toland, the original plan of christianity was this: "That the Jews, though associating with the converted Gentiles, and acknowledging them for brethren, were still to observe their own laws; and that the Gentiles, who became so far Jews as to acknowledge one God,

were not, however, to observe the Jewish law: but, that both of them were to be, ever after, united into one body or fellowship, in that part of christianity particularly, which, better than all the preparative purgations of the philosophers, requires the sanctification of the spirit, and the renovation of the inward man; and wherein alone, the Jew and the Gentile; the civilized and the barbarian; the free-man and the bond-slave, are all one in Christ, however differing in other circumstances." This treatise was animadverted on, by Messrs. Mangey and Paterson; and by Dr. Brett.

This year, he also edited a pamphlet, called *The Destiny of Rome*; or, the speedy and final destruction of the Pope, founded partly on natural and political reasons, and partly on the famous prophecy of St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, in the thirteenth century, &c.

In the beginning of 1720, Dr. Hare published the fourth edition of his *Visitation Sermon*, and animadverted on *Christianity not Mysterious*; asserting that Mr. Toland often quoted Mr. Locke, to support notions he never dreamed of. As this assertion was totally groundless, the doctor had Mr. Locke and Mr. Toland on his back at once. Finding his ground untenable, he published the following advertisement in the *Daily Courant*.

"Just published, the fourth edition of *The Dean of Worcester's Visitation Sermon*. In the

postscript, line ninth from the end, instead of, *is often quoted*, read, *makes great use of Mr. Locke's principles*.

“ London, February 1st, 1720.”

Thus the reverend doctor had the contemptible meanness to shelter a bare-faced falsehood, under the subterfuge of a typographical error.

This pitiful conduct of Dr. Hare, produced from Mr. Toland, a pamphlet, entitled, *A Short Essay on the Art of Lying; or, a Defence of a Reverend Dignitary, who suffers under the Persecution of Mr. Toland for a Lapsus Calami*.

About this time, he published *Pantheisticon; sive formula celebrandæ Sodalitatis Socraticæ*, &c. Some of his enemies pretended this tract was written to ridicule the Romish and episcopal liturgies; and, as it was made up of responses, lessons, a philosophical canon, and a litany; and the whole written both in red and black ink, their opinion is perhaps well founded. Mr. Toland was, at all times, a rigid advocate for the primitive apostolic simplicity of the christian religion. This tract, instead of being a proof of our author's heterodoxy, is so far the reverse, that had John Knox been alive, I am persuaded, he would have thanked him for it. To this treatise, he prefixed the name of *Janus Junius Eoganesius*, which, though it was his real christian name, and the name of his country, was as good a disguise as he could have invented.

A bill having been introduced into the House of Lords, to make the parliament of Ireland more dependent on that of Great Britain, Mr. Toland wrote a treatise in opposition to that measure.

Some time after he published a book, entitled *Tetradymus*: containing 1mo. *Hodegus*; or, the pillar of cloud and fire that guided the Israelites in the wilderness, not miraculous, &c. 2do. *Clydophorus*; or the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric* philosophy of the ancients, &c. 3tio. *Hypatia*; or, the history of a most beautiful, most virtuous, most learned, and every way accomplished young lady, who was torn to pieces by the clergy of Alexandria, to gratify the pride, emulation and cruelty, of their archbishop Cyril, commonly, but, undeservedly styled St. Cyril. 4to. *Mangoneutes*; or, a defence of Nazarennus, addressed to the right reverend John, lord bishop of London, against his lordship's chaplin Dr. Mangey, his dedicatour Mr. Paterson, and the reverend Dr. Brett, once belonging to his lordship's church.

In this last address to the bishop of London, Mr. Toland, states the injurious treatment he had received from Dr. Hare at considerable length; and concludes with the following account of his own conduct and sentiments: "Notwithstanding, says he, the imputations of heresy and infidelity, so often published by the clergy, as lately, in the vauntingest manner, by one not unknown to you; the whiffling and the ignorant being ever the

most arrogant and confident, I assure your lordship, that the purity of religion, and the prosperity of the state have ever been my chiefest aim. Civil liberty, and religious toleration, as the most desirable things in this world; the most conducing to peace, plenty, knowledge, and every kind of happiness, have been the two main objects of all my writings. But, as by liberty, I did not mean licentiousness; so, by toleration, I did not mean indifference, and much less an approbation of every religion I could suffer. To be more particular, I solemnly profess to your lordship, that the religion taught by Jesus Christ and his apostles, but not as since corrupted by the subtractions, additions, and other alterations of any particular man, or company of men, is that which I infinitely prefer before all others. I do over and over again, repeat Christ and his apostles, exclusive of either oral traditions, or the determinations of synods, adding, what I declared before to the world, that religion, as it came from their hands, was no less plain and pure, than useful and instructive; and that, as being the business of every man, it was equally understood by every body. For Christ did not institute one religion for the learned and another for the vulgar," &c.

In 1721, Dr. Hare published a book, entitled *Scripture Truth vindicated, from the misrepresentations of the Lord bishop of Bangor, &c.*; and, in the preface, takes occasion to observe, that

none are prevented from settling in Carolina, but down-right atheists, such as Mr. Toland; and most unjustly asserts, that in some copies of the *Pantheisticon*, he inserted a prayer to the following effect: *Omnipotens et sempiterne Bacche; qui humanam societatem maxime in bibendo constituisti; concede propitius, ut istorum capita, qui hesternæ computatione gravantur, hodierna leventur; idque fiat per pocula poculorum. Amen. i. e.* “Omnipotent and everlasting Bacchus, who foundest human society principally by drinking, propitiously grant, that the heads of those which are made heavy by yesterday’s drinking, may be lightened by this day’s, and that by bumper after bumper. Amen.”

M. Maizeuz, a Frenchman, and Mr. Toland’s biographer, assures us, that Mr. Toland never dreamed of such a matter. He assures us, that he knows the author, but forbears to mention him, on account of his profession. Indeed, there can hardly be a doubt, that Dr. Hare himself was the author.

The same year, Mr. Toland published *Letters from the Earl of Shaftesbury to the Lord Viscount Molesworth*; as also, two letters written by Sir George Cropsley.

Mr. Toland had these four years past lived at Putney, whence he could conveniently go to London, and return the same day. Being in town about the middle of December, he found himself very ill, and an ignorant physician, by his impro-

per prescriptions, very much increased his disorder. But he made a shift to return to Putney, where he grew better, and entertained some hopes of recovery. In the interval, he wrote two treatises; the one, entitled, *Physic without Physicans*; and the other, *The Danger of mercenary Parliaments*. This last, he did not live to finish; for, he died on Sunday the 11th March, 1722, about four o'clock in the morning. He behaved himself throughout the whole course of his sickness, with the greatest calmness and fortitude, and looked on death without the least perturbation of mind: bidding farewell to those about him, and telling them, *he was going to fall asleep*.

A few days before his death, he composed the following Epitaph:

H. S. E.
JOANNES TOLANDUS,
Qui, in Hibernia prope Deriam natus,
In Scotia et Hibernia Studuit,
Quod Oxonii quoque fecit Adolescens;
Atque Germania plus semel petita,
Virilem circa Londinum transegit ætatem.
Omnium Literarum excultor
Ac Linguarum plus decem Sciens.
Veritatis Propugnator
Libertatis Assertor:
Nullius autem Sectator, aut Cliens,
Nec minis, nec malis est inflexus,
Quin, quam elegit, viam perageret,

*Utili honestum antefereus.
 Spiritus cum Æthereo Patre,
 A Quo prodiit olim, conjungitur:
 Corpus item naturæ cedens,
 In Materno græmio reponitur.
 Ipse vero æternum est resurrecturus,
 At Idem futurus Tolandus nunquam.
 Natus Nov. 30, 1670.
 Cætera ex Scriptis pete.*

TRANSLATION.

“ Here lies John Toland, born in Ireland, near
 “ Londonderry, who in his youth studied in Scot-
 “ land, Ireland, and at Oxford; and, having re-
 “ peatedly visited Germany, spent his manhood
 “ about London. He was a cultivator of every
 “ kind of learning; and skilled in more than ten
 “ languages: the champion of truth, and the as-
 “ sertor of liberty, but the follower or client of
 “ none; nor was he ever swayed, either by me-
 “ naces or misfortunes, from pursuing the path
 “ which he chalked out to himself, uniformly pre-
 “ ferring his integrity to his interest. His spirit
 “ is re-united to his heavenly Father, from whom
 “ it formerly proceeded; his body, yielding to na-
 “ ture, is also re-placed in the bosom of the earth.
 “ He himself will undoubtedly arise to eternal life,
 “ but will never be the same Toland. Born 30th
 “ November, 1670. Seek the rest from his writ-
 “ ings.”

Mr. Toland's belief, *that he will never be the same Toland*, after the resurrection, is not heterodox, though his enemies have not failed to represent it in this light. The gospel uniformly declares, that a considerable change will take place in the human body at the resurrection, and that we shall all be changed. Mr. Toland must, therefore, not be considered as here denying his *absolute* future identity, but merely as alluding to that partial change which the scriptures so clearly point out.

Hitherto I have almost implicitly followed M. Maizeuz, and, as far as the nature of this abstract would admit, have adopted his own words, being well aware, that by so doing, no body will accuse me of partiality to Mr. Toland. M. Maizeuz was a Frenchman, a friend to popery and arbitrary power; he did not undertake our author's biography voluntarily, nor from any motive of respect. On the contrary, when requested by a friend of our author's (who was at the same time the Frenchman's benefactor), to undertake the task, he positively declined it. A second request, more peremptory than the first, had the desired effect. M. Maizeuz has not, in one single instance, made the slightest allusion to the complexion of the times in which Mr. Toland lived, without a knowledge of which, it is impossible duely to appreciate either his principles, or the scope of his writings. He seems, however, to have been under great obligations to his benefactor, and knowing

him to be a friend of our deceased author, was obliged to confine himself to matters of fact. But what will place the conduct of M. Maizeuz in a very favourable point of view, is, that when Mr. Toland's works were printed at London, in 1726, M. Maizeuz not only withheld his own name from his life, but also that of the gentleman at whose request it was written.

This gentleman having been guilty of these unpardonable omissions, I shall endeavour, as concisely as possible, to remedy the defect, and shall principally confine myself to Mr. Toland's *Christianity not Mysteriorious*, which has made so much noise in the world.

Previous to the Reformation, the infallibility of the Pope in spiritual, and the divine right of kings in temporal, matters, were carried to the very highest pitch; and the servile, ignorant, and debased state, to which mankind were reduced, by the operation of these abominable doctrines, is too well known to need any comment. At the dawn of the Reformation, a better order of things began. The scriptures were read and studied, and the monstrous impositions, for more than ten centuries practised on mankind, clearly displayed. Neither the infallibility of the Pope, nor the divine right of kings, could stand the criterion either of reason or revelation, and both were discarded. After a long struggle, during more than a century and a half, our civil and religious liberties were effectually

ally secured by the glorious Revolution. That the whig interest placed King William on the throne; and that the tory-party, to a man, were attached to the cause of the abdicated monarch, are facts that can admit of no dispute. From the date of the Revolution, the tories, as far as regarded state affairs, were obliged to alter their tone. To have declaimed in support of the indefeasible hereditary right of kings, would have been a direct insult to King William, who had encroached on this right, and might have been construed high-treason. The toleration act secured all denominations in the free exercise of their religion. This was another source of discontent to the tories, who had uniformly aimed at religious and exclusive supremacy.

That the tories thwarted King William's measures, meditated the restoration of the abdicated monarch, and shook the stability of the protestant succession for more than half a century, needs no demonstration. Their absurd tenets, respecting civil and religious tyranny, were founded on a perversion of the sacred records. With the exception of the whig-party, all ranks of mankind were kept in profound ignorance of the divine writings, under pretence of mystery and unintelligibility. By these means the bulk of mankind were blindly led, without using their senses or their reason.

To drive arbitrary power from this last resource, Mr. Toland wrote *Christianity not Mysteriorious*.

In this treatise he clearly proves, that man's reason was not given him, in order to lie dormant. That if he was allowed to judge for himself in the ordinary occurrences of life, and respecting the phenomena of nature, he cannot be denied the same privilege, as far as respects matters of religion, and the principles of christianity. Mr. Toland was well aware, that if he could once induce mankind to read the scriptures with impartial attention, no man's interpretation on earth could mislead them.

However convenient this mode of conduct might be for the interests of true religion, it was, in fact, a death blow to popery, which had reared its monstrous fabric on ignorance, mystery and superstition. The gospel was, by the popish priests, as carefully kept from the vulgar, as if it had contained the *antidote*, instead of the *means* of their salvation. When Mr. Toland wrote, not one-fourth of the population of the British empire were allowed to read the scriptures; and, even at the present day, nearly five millions are denied this important privilege.

Had christianity been so intricate and mysterious, as designing and interested men have represented it, certainly the twelve apostles were very ill calculated to propagate the gospel. In many popish countries, not one of them would have been considered qualified to read or explain a single verse of it. That the conduct of Christ, and of his

pretended vicegerents, has been widely different, I readily admit; but the simple question is this, “Whether Christ was, or was not, best qualified to judge of the nature of the christian system, and the instruments best calculated to promote it?”

When we have duly weighed Mr. Toland’s definition of the word Mystery, *Christianity not Myste-rious*, means no more than *Christianity intelligible to all Christians*. This was certainly sapping the very foundations of papal and tyrannical power, by asserting that every christian had a right to read and understand the gospel. That the treatise was considered, by the adherents of the abdicated monarch, as having this tendency, is evident from this circumstance, that Mr. Toland’s antagonists were, to a man, advocates for arbitrary power, and religious intolerance. The church of Scotland has, at all times, been forward to stem the torrent of impiety and irreligion; but, it is not known that any one of that venerable body, ever objected to Mr. Toland’s orthodoxy; a circumstance which could not have happened, had his writings been hostile to true religion. On this head, I shall only add, that the same party which persecuted Mr. Toland, would have treated King William, and the church of Scotland, with as little ceremony, had they stood as unprotected as the *illustrious* subject of these memoirs.

Mr. Toland’s *Amyntor*, and his *Pantheisticon*, have been already taken notice of. The first

proved that King Charles was not the author of *Icon Basilike*; and the last is supposed to contain a sarcastical allusion to the Romish and episcopal liturgies:—The torrent of abuse consequently poured on him, by the tories, is no more than might have been naturally anticipated.

His biographer has descended so low as to inform us, that Mr. Toland was sometimes under pecuniary difficulties, and as running in debt for his wigs, &c. But, as this was a charge of the same nature with his deism, atheism, mahometanism, pantheism, illegitimacy, &c. I shall not detain the reader with a confutation of it.



MR. TOLAND'S CHARACTER.

It is difficult to determine in what department of literature this great man most excelled. He seems to have been a kind of universal genius.—In controversy he was irresistible; and, at the very moment when his adversaries thought they had confuted him, they found they had only furnished materials for their own degradation.—He was skilled in more than ten languages, and the Celtic was his native tongue.—Educated in the grossest superstition of popery, at the early age of sixteen, he became a convert to presbyterianism, and remained steadily attached to it, till the hour of his death.—Popery, prelacy, and arbitrary power, he utterly detested; and, on every occasion,

resisted them to the utmost of his power.—To the Revolution, in 1689, he was a warm and steady friend.—Real and unaffected piety, and the church of Scotland, which he thought bore the greatest resemblance to the primitive simplicity of the apostolic times, always found, in him, an able and inflexible advocate.—Though his pen was his estate, yet he never prostituted it to serve the interest of his party at the expence of truth.—There was interwoven, with his whole frame, a high degree of stubborn and inexorable integrity, which totally unfitted him for the tool of a party; and, like poor Yorick, he invariably called things by their right names, regardless of the consequences.—There was not, in his whole composition, one single grain of that useful quality which Swift calls *modern discretion*. Like an impregnable rock in the midst of the tempestuous ocean, he stood immovable against all his assailants; and his calm dignified answers, in reply to their most virulent and unmerited calumnies, equally characterize the hero, the philosopher, and the christian.—To his transcendant literary abilities even the most inveterate of his enemies have paid the most ample tribute of respect. His Latin compositions, in point of classical purity, have not been excelled, even by Cicero himself. To him the Celtic tribes are highly indebted for that unequalled production, the *History of the Druids*.—Pinkerton, as often as his *Gothic mania* led him to controvert

any of Toland's positions respecting the Druids and Celts, is obliged to shrink from the contest.— Dr. Smith, with a non-candour, for which, even his best friends must blush, has borrowed the whole of Toland's materials for his *History of the Druids*, not only without making any acknowledgment, but with a studied and deliberate design to conceal the plagiarism. Wherever Mr. Toland enters into detail, Dr. Smith is concise; and wherever Mr. Toland is concise, Dr. Smith enters into detail. The important *History of Abaris, the Hyperborean Priest of the Sun*, is dismissed by Dr. Smith in a few words, whereas, in Mr. Toland's history, it takes up several pages.— In the space of twenty-five years, Mr. Toland published about one hundred different works, some of them on the most intricate subjects, but the far greater part on controversial matters, in opposition to those who wished to restore the abdicated monarch, and re-establish arbitrary power and religious intolerance. As it was the first, so it was the last effort of his pen, to render civil government consistent with the unalienable rights of mankind, and to reduce christianity to that pure, simple, and unpompous system, which Christ and his apostles established. It has often been objected to John Knox, as well as Mr. Toland, that he was a stubborn ill-bred fellow. But, when the Augæan Stable of civil and religious corruptions is to be cleansed, the Herculean labour requires Hercu-

lean instruments. Perhaps, the delicacy and refinement of the present day, might have shrunk from the arduous task, and left the desirable work not only unfinished, but unattempted. Toland's fame has triumphed over all opposition, and will be transmitted to the latest posterity. That very party which branded him, when alive, with the epithets of atheist, infidel, deist, mahometan, &c. have now discovered, that he was only tinctured with socinianism; and, in less than fifty years, the same party will discover that he was a rigid presbyterian,—peace to his manes.—It were ardently to be wished, that the British empire, in all great and critical emergencies, may possess many christians like John Toland.

THE
FIRST LETTER,
TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
LORD VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

SOME men, my lord, from a natural greatness of soul, and others from a sense of the want of learning in themselves, or the advantages of it in others, have many times liberally contributed towards the advancement of letters. . But when they, whose excellent natural parts are richly cultivated by sound literature, undertake the protection of the muses, writers feel a double encouragement, both as they are happily enabled to perfect their studies, and as their patrons are true judges of their performances. 'Tis from this consideration alone (abstracted, my lord, from all that you have already done, or may hereafter deserve from your country, by an unshaken love of liberty) that I presume to acquaint your lordship with a design which I form'd several years ago at Oxford, and which I have ever since kept in view; collecting, as occasion presented, whatever might any way

tend to the advantage or perfection of it. 'Tis to write *The History of the Druids*, containing an account of the ancient Celtic religion and literature; and concerning which I beg your patience for a little while. Tho' this be a subject that will be naturally entertaining to the curious in every place, yet it does more particularly concern the inhabitants of antient Gaule (now France, Flanders, the Alpine regions, and Lombardy), and of all the British islands, whose antiquities are here partly explain'd and illustrated, partly vindicated and restor'd. It will sound somewhat oddly, at first hearing, that a man born in the most northern peninsula* of Ireland, shou'd undertake to set

* This peninsula is *Inis-Eogain*, vulgarly *Enis-Owen*, in whose isthmus stands the city of Londonderry, itself a peninsula, and, if the tradition be true, originally a famous grove and school of the Druids. Hence comes the very name *Doire*, corruptly pronounced *Derry*, which in Irish signifies *a grove*, particularly of oaks. The great Columba changed it into a college for Monks (who in his time were retir'd Laymen, that lived by the labour of their hands) as most commonly the sacred places of the heathens, if pleasant or commodious, were converted to the like use by the christians after their own manner. This Derry is the *Roboretum* or *Campus roborum**, mentioned by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*: but not *Ardmacha*, now *Armagh*, in the same province of Ulster, as many have erroneously conceived; nor yet *Durramh*, now *Durrough*, in that of Leinster, as some have no less groundlesly fancied, among whom Archbishop Usher.

* *Fecerat autem (Columba) prius quam in Britanniam veniret monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum Dcarmack lingua Scotorum, hoc est campus roborum, vocatur. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 4.*

the antiquities of Gaule in a clearer light than any one has hitherto done. But when 'tis consider'd, that, over and above what he knows in common, relating to the Druids, with the learned of the French nation (whose works he constantly reads with uncommon esteem), he has also certain other advantages, which none of those writers have ever had: when this, I say, is consider'd, then all the wonder about this affair will instantly cease. Yet let it be still remember'd, that whatever accomplishment may consist in the knowledge of languages, no language is really valuable, but as far as it serves to converse with the living, or to learn

Dearmach is compounded of *Dair*, an oak, and the ancient word *Mach* (now *Machaire*) a field. They who did not know so much, have imagined it from the mere sound to be *Armagh*, which, far from *Campus roborum*, signifies the height or mount of Macha, (surnamed *Mongruadh* or redhair'd) a queen of Ireland, and the only woman that ever sway'd the sovereign sceptre of that kingdom. But *Armagh* never was a monastery founded by Columba, who, in Bede's time, was called Coluim-cille*, as he's by the Irish to this day: whereas it was from the monasteries of *Derry* and *I-colmkill* (which last, though the second erected, became the first in dignity) that all the other monasteries dedicated to Columba, whether in Scotland or Ireland, were so many colonies. This is attested by the just mentioned Bede†, no less than by all the Irish annalists since their several foundations.

* Qui, videlicet Columba, nunc a nonnullis, composito a *Cella* & *Columba* nomine *Columcelli* vocatnr. *Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 10.*

† Ex quo utroque monasterio perplurima exinde monasteria, per discipulos ejus, & in Britannia & in Hibernia propagata sunt; in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum tenet. *Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 45.*

from the dead; and therefore, were that knowledge of times and things contain'd in Lapponian, which we draw from the Grec, and that this last were as barren as the first, I shou'd then study Lapponian, and neglect Grec, for all its superiority over most tongues in respect of sonorous pronunciation, copiousness of words, and variety of expression. But as the profound ignorance and slavery of the present Grecs does not hinder, but that their ancestors were the most learned, polite, and free of all European nations, so no revolution that has befallen any or all of the Celtic colonies, can be a just prejudice against the truly antient and undoubted monuments they may be able to furnish, towards improving or restoring any point of learning. Whether there be any such monuments or not, and how far useful or agreeable, will in the following sheets appear.

II. Among those institutions which are thought to be irrecoverably lost, one is that of the *Druids*; of which the learned have hitherto known nothing, but by some fragments concerning them out of the Grec and Roman authors. Nor are such fragments always intelligible, because never explain'd by any of those, who were skill'd in the Celtic dialects, which are now principally six; namely Welsh or the insular British, Cornish almost extinct, Armorican or French British, Irish the least corrupted, Manks or the language of the Isle of Man; and Earse or Highland Irish, spoken

also in all the western ilands of Scotland. These, having severally their own dialects, are, with respect to each other and the old Celtic of Gaule, as the several dialects of the German language and Low Dutch, the Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Islandic; which are all descendants of their common mother, the Gothic. Not that ever such a thing as a pure Gothic or Celtic language either did or cou'd exist in any considerable region without dialects, no more than pure elements: but by such an original language is meant the common root and trunk, the primitive words, and especially the peculiar construction that runs through all the branches; whereby they are intelligible to each other, or may easily become so, but different from all kinds of speech besides. Thus the Celtic and the Gothic, which have been often taken for each other, are as different as Latin and Arabic. In like manner we conceive of the several idoms of the Greec language formerly, in Greece itself properly so call'd, in Macedonia, in Crete and the ilands of the Archipelago, in Asia, Rhodes, part of Italy, in Sicily, and Marseilles; and at this time of the Sclavonian language, whose dialects not only prevail in Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Carinthia, and Servia, but in a great many other places, too tedious to recite. But of this subject we shall treat professedly in a dissertation*, to be annex'd

* *A Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies.*

to the work, whereof I am giving your lordship an account. Neither shall I in this specimen dwell on some things, whereof I shall principally and largely treat in the designed history; I mean the philosophy of the Druids concerning the gods, human souls, nature in general, and in particular the heavenly bodies, their magnitudes, motions, distances, and duration; whereof Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela; and Ammianus Marcellinus write more specially than others. These subjects, I say, will be copiously handled and commented in my history. In the mean time I do assure you, my Lord, from all authors, that no heathen priesthood ever came up to the perfection of the Druidical, which was far more exquisite than any other such system; as having been much better calculated to beget ignorance, and an implicit disposition in the people, no less than to procure power and profit to the priests, which is one grand difference between the true worship and the false. The western priesthood did infinitely exceed that of Zoroaster, and all the eastern sacred policy: so that the *History of the Druids*, in short, is *the complete History of Priestcraft*, with all its reasons and resorts; which to distinguish accurately from right religion, is not only the interest of all wise princes and states, but likewise does especially concern the tranquillity and happiness of every private person. I have used the word priestcraft here on purpose, not

merely as being the best expression for the designed abuse, and reverse of religion, (for superstition is only religion misunderstood) but also because the coining of the very word was occasioned by the Druids: since the Anglo-Saxons having learnt the word *dry** from the Irish and Britons for a *magician*, did very appositely call *magic* or incantment *drycraft*†; as being nothing else but trick and illusion, the fourbery of priests and their confederates.

III. Now, this institution of the Druids, I think myself, without any consciousness of vanity, much abler to retrieve (as having infinitely better helps in many respects, of which, before I have done) than Dr. Hyde was to restore the knowledge of the ancient Persian literature and religion; which yet he left imperfect for want of due encouragement, as I have shown in the first chapter of *Nazarenus*. From undoubted Celtic monuments, join'd to the Grec and Roman remains, I can display the order of their hierarchy, from the Arch-Druid down to the meanest of the four orders of priests. Of these degrees, the Arch-Druid excepted, there's little to be found in the classic authors, that treat of the Druids: but very much and very particularly, in the Celtic writings and monuments. For many reasons their history is most interesting and entertaining: I mean, as on the one hand we consider

* Pronounced as *Dree* in English.

† *Dry* magus, *Drycraft* incantatio, *Ælfric. in Glossar.*

them seducing their followers, and as on the other hand we learn not to be so deceiv'd. They dextrously led the people blindfold, by committing no part of their theology or philosophy to writing, tho' great writers in other respects; but their dictates were only hereditarily convey'd from masters to disciples by traditionary poems, interpretable (consequently) and alterable as they shou'd see convenient: which is a much more effectual way, than locking up a book from the laity, that, one way or other, is sure to come first or last to their knowledge, and easy perhaps to be turn'd against the priests. The Druids, as may be seen in the 6th book of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, drew the decision of all controversies of law and equity to themselves, the distribution of all punishments and rewards; from the power that was first given, or afterwards assumed by them, of determining matters of ceremony and religion. Most terrible were the effects of the Druidical* excommunica-

* If the learned reader, who knows any of the passages, or the unlearned reader who wants authorities for proving the following assertions, should wonder I do not always cite them, let it be known to both, that as in this specimen I commonly touch but the heads of things, (and not of all things neither) so I would not crowd the margin with long passages, nor yet curtail what in my *History* shall be produced at large: and, therefore, all the following citations (the original manner of writing Celtic words excepted) are either samples of the quotations I shall give, or proofs of what I would not for a moment have suspected to be precariously advanced, or, finally, for the better understanding of certain mat-

tion on any man; that did not implicitly follow their directions, and submit to their decrees: not only to the excluding of private persons from all benefits of society, and even from society itself; but also to the deposing of the princes who did not please them, and often devoting them to destruction. Nor less intolerable was their power of engaging the nation in war, or of making a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace; while they had the address to get themselves exempted from bearing arms, paying taxes, or contributing any thing to the public but *charms*: and yet to have their persons reputed sacred and inviolable, by those even of the contrary side, which veneration, however, was not always strictly paid. These privileges allur'd great numbers to enter into their communities, for such sodalities or fraternities they had; and to take on them the Druidical profession, to be perfect in which, did sometimes cost them twenty years study. Nor ought this to seem a wonder, since to arrive at perfection in sophistry requires a long habit, as well as in juggling, in which last they were very expert: but to be masters of both, and withal to learn the art of managing the mob, which is vulgarly called *leading the people by the nose*, demands abundant study and exercise.

ters which come in by way of digression or illustration. Otherwise they wou'd not be necessary in a mere specimen, though in a finished work indispensable.

IV. The children of the several kings, with those of all the nobility, were committed to the tuition of the Druids, whereby they had an opportunity (contrary to all good politics) of moulding and framing them to their own private interests and purposes; considering which direction of education, *Patric*, had they been a *landed clergy*, wou'd not have found the conversion of Ireland so easy a task. So easy indeed it was, that the heathen monarch Laogirius, (who, as some assert, was never himself converted) and all the provincial kings, granted to every man free liberty of preaching and professing christianity. So that, as Giraldus Cambrensis remarks, this is the only country of christians, where nobody was obliged to suffer martyrdom* for the gospel. This justice therefore I wou'd do to Ireland, even if it had not been my country, viz. to maintain that this tolerating principle, this *impartial liberty* (ever since unexampled there as well as elsewhere, China excepted) is a far greater honour to it, than whatever thing most glorious or magnificent can be said of

* *Omnes sancti terrae istius confessores sunt, & nullus martyr; quod in alio regno Christiano difficile erit invenire. Mirum itaque quod gens crudelissima & sanguinis stibunda, fides ab antiquo fundata & semper tepidissima, pro Christi ecclesia corona martyrii nulla. Non igitur inventus est in partibus istis, qui ecclesiae surgentis fundamenta sanguinis effusione cementaret: non fuit, qui faceret hoc bonum; non fuit usque ad unum. Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. 3, cap. 29.*

any other country in the world. Girald, on the contrary, (as in his days they were wont to over-rate martyrdom, celibacy, and the like, much above the positive duties of religion) thinks it a reproach to the Irish, *That none of their Saints cemented the foundations of the growing church with their blood, all of them being confessors, (says he,) and not one able to boast of the crown of martyrdom.* But who sees not the vanity and absurdity of this charge? It is blaming the princes and people for their reasonableness, moderation and humanity; as it is taxing the new converts for not seditiously provoking them to persecute, and for not madly running themselves to a voluntary death, which was the unjustifiable conduct of many elsewhere in the primitive times of christianity. 'Tis on much better grounds, tho' with a childish and nauseous jingle, that he accuses the Irish clergy of his own time: and so far am I from being an enemy to the clergy, that I heartily wish the like could not be said of any clergy, whether there, or here, or elsewhere, from that time to this. Well then: what is it? *They are pastors, (says he)*, who seek not to feed, but to be fed: Prelates, who desire not to profit, but to preside: Bishops, who embrace not the nature, but the name; not the burden, but the bravery*

* *Sunt enim pastores, qui non pastere quærunt, sed pasci: sunt prælati, qui non prodesse cupiunt, sed præesse: sunt pisces, qui non omen, sed nomen; non onus, sed honorem amplectuntur. Id. Ibid.*

of their profession. This, my lord, I reckon to be no digression from my subject, since what little opposition their happen'd to be in Ireland to christianity, was wholly made by the Druids, or at their instigation: and that when they perceiv'd this new religion like to prevail, none came into it speedier, or made a more advantageous figure in it, than they. The Irish, however, have their *martyrologies*, (lest this shou'd be objected by some trifler) but they are of such of their nation as suffered in other countries, or under the heathen Danes in their own country, some hundreds of years after the total conversion of it to christianity.

V. Those advantages we have nam'd in the two last sections, and many the like articles, with the Druids pretences to work miracles, to foretel events by augury and otherwise, to have familiar intercourse with the gods (highly confirm'd by calculating eclipses) and a thousand impostures of the same nature*, I can, by irrefragable authorities, set in such a light, that all of the like kind may to every one appear in as evident a view, which, as I hinted before, cannot but be very serviceable both to religion and morality. For true religion does not consist in cunningly devis'd fables, in authority, dominion, or pomp; but in

* The heads of the two last sections, with these here mentioned, (though conceived in few words) will yet each make a separate chapter in the History; this present specimen being chiefly intended for modern instances, as by the sequel will appear.

spirit and in truth, in simplicity and social virtue, in a filial love and reverence, not in a servile dread and terror of the divinity. As the fundamental law of a historian is, daring to say whatever is true, and not daring to write any falsehood: neither being swayed by love or hatred, nor gain'd by favour or interest; so he ought, of course, to be as a man of no time or country, of no sect or party, which I hope the several nations concern'd in this enquiry will find to be particularly true of me. But if, in clearing up antient rites and customs, with the origin and institution of certain religious or civil societies (long since extinct), any communities or orders of men, now in being, should think themselves touched, they ought not to impute it to design in the author, but to the conformity of things, if, indeed, there be any real resemblance: and, in case there be none at all, they should not make people apt to suspect there is, by crying out tho' they are not hurt. I remember, when complaint was made against an honourable person*, that, in treating of the heathen priests, he had whipt some christian priests on their backs, all the answer he made, was only asking, *What made them get up there?* The benefit of which answer I claim before-hand to myself, without making or needing any other apology. Yet, if the correspondence of any priests with heaven

* Sir Robert Howard.

be as slenderly grounded as that of the Druids, if their miracles be as fictitious and fraudulent, if their love of riches be as immoderate, if their thirst after power be as insatiable, and their exercise of it be as partial and tyrannical over the laity, then I am not only content they should be touched, whether I thought of them or not, but that they should be blasted too, without the possibility of ever sprouting up again. For truth will but shine the brighter, the better its counterfeits are shewn: and all that I can do to shew my candour is, to leave the reader to make such applications himself, seldom making any for him; since he that is neither clear-sighted, nor quick enough of conception, to do so, may to as good purpose read the *Fairy Tales* as this history.

VI. Besides this impartial disposition, the competent knowledge I have of the northern languages, dead and living, (though I shall prove that no Druids, except such as towards their latter end fled thither for refuge, or that went before with Celtic invaders or colonies, were ever among the Gothic nations) I say, these languages will not a little contribute to the perfection of my work, for a reason that may with more advantage appear in the book itself. But the knowledge of the ancient Irish, which I learnt from my childhood, and of the other Celtic dialects, in all which I have printed books or manuscripts (not to speak of their vulgar traditions), is absolutely necessary. these

having preserved numberless monuments concerning the Druids, that never hitherto have come to the hands of the learned. For as the institutions of the Druids were formerly better learnt in Britain, by Cæsar said to be the native seat of this superstitious race, than in Gaule, where yet it exceedingly flourished; so their memory is still best preserved in Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, comprehending the Hebridæ, Hebrides, or Western Isles, among which is the Isle of Man, where they continued long after their extermination in Gaule and South Britain, mostly by the Romans, but finally by the introduction of christianity. Besides, that much of the Irish heathen mythology is still extant in verse, which gives such a lustre to this matter, and, of course, to the Greek and Roman fragments concerning the Druids, as could not possibly be had any other way.

VII. Thus (to give an example in the philological part) the controversy among the grammarians, whether they should write *Druis* or *Druida** in

* The Irish word for Druid is *Druí*, corruptly *Droi*, and more corruptly *Dræoi*; yet all of the same sound, which in etymologies is a great matter; and in the nominative plural it is *Druidhe*, whence comes no doubt the Greek and Latin *Druides*; as *Druis* in the singular was formed by only adding *s* to *Druí*, according to those nation's way of terminating. But as these words in Irish as well as the British *Druidion*, are common to both sexes; so the Romans, according to their inflection, distinguished *Druida* for a She-Druid (which sort are mentioned by

the nominative case singular, can only be decided by the Irish writings, as you may see demonstrated in the margin, where all grammatical remarks shall be inserted among the other notes of the history, if they do not properly belong to the annexed *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Languages and Colonies*. This conduct I observe, to avoid any disagreeable stop or perplexity in the work itself, by uncouth words, or of difficult pronunciation. For as every thing in the universe is the subject of writing, so an author ought to treat of every subject smoothly and correctly, as well as pertinently and perspicuously; nor ought he to be void of ornament and elegance, where his matter peculiarly requires it. Some things want a copious style, some a concise, others to be more floridly, others to be more plainly handl'd, but all to be properly, methodically, and handsomely exprest. Neglecting these particulars, is neglecting, and consequently affronting the reader. Let a lady be as well shap'd as you can fancy, let all her features be faultless, and her complexion be ever so deli-

authors) whereof the nominative plural being *Druidæ*, it ought by us to be used in that sense only: and so I conclude, that in our modern Latin compositions *Druides* and *Druidæ* should not be confounded, as they have frequently been by the transcribers of old writings, who mislead others. We are not to be moved therefore by reading *Druidæ* in any Latin author in the masculine gender, or in the Greek writers, who certainly used it so. All equivocation at least will be thus taken away.

cate; yet if she be careless of her person, tawdry in her dress, or aukward in her gate and behavior, a man of true taste is so far from being touched with the charms of her body, that he is immediately prepossest against the beauties of her mind; and apt to believe there can be no order within, where there is so much disorder without. In my opinion, therefore, the Muses themselves are never agreeable company without the Graces. Or if, as your lordship's stile is remarkably strong, you wou'd, with Cicero *, take this simile from a man, you'll own 'tis not enough to make him be lik'd, that he has well-knit bones, nerves and sinews: there must be likewise proportion, muscling, and coloring, much blood, and some softness. To relate facts without their circumstances, whereon depends all instruction; is to exhibit a skeleton without the flesh, wherein consists all comeliness. This I say to your lordship, not pretending to teach the art of writing to one, who's so fit to be my master; but to obviate the censures of those, and to censure 'em in their turns, who not only do not treat of such subjects as I have now undertaken in a flowing and continu'd stile, but peremptorily deny the fields of antiquity and criticism to be capable of this culture; and indeed as suffering under the drudgery of their hands, they generally become barren heaths or unpassable thickets; where you

* *De Oratore*, lib. 1.

are blinded with sand, or torn with bryars and brambles. There's no choice of words or expressions. All is low and vulgar, or absolute and musty; as the whole discourse is crabbed, hobbling, and jejune. Not that I wou'd have too much license taken in this respect; for though none ought to be slaves to any set of words, yet great judgement is to be employ'd in creating anew, or reviving an old word: nor must there be less discretion in the use of figures and sentences; which, like embroidery and salt, are to set off and season, but not to render the cloth invisible, or the meat uneatable. To conclude this point, we are told by the most eloquent of men, that a profuse volubility*, and a sordid exility of words, are to be equally avoided. And now, after this digression, if any thing that essentially relates to my task can be properly called one, I return to the Druids, who were so prevalent in Ireland. that to this hour their ordinary word for magician is *Druid*†, the art magic, is call'd *Druidity*‡, and the wand, which was one of the badges of their profession, *the rod of Druidism*§. Among antient classic authors Pliny is the most express concerning the magic of the Druids, whereof the old Irish and British books are full: which legerdemain, or secrets of natural philosophy, as all magic is

* *Cicero de Oratore*, lib. 1. † *Drui*. ‡ *Druidheacht*.

§ *Slatnan Druidheacht*.

either the one or the other, or both, we shall endeavour to lay open in our history of the Druids; not forgetting any old author that mentions them, for there's something particular to be learnt in every one of them, as they touch different circumstances. Having occasionally spoken of the wand or staff which every Druid carry'd in his hand, as one of the badges of his profession, and which in a chapter on this subject will be shewn to have been a usual thing with all pretenders to magic, I must here acquaint you further, that each of 'em had what was commonly called the *Druid's Egg*, which shall be explain'd in the history, hung about his neck, inchas'd in gold. They all wore short hair, while the rest of the natives had theirs very long; and, on the contrary, they wore long beards, while other people shav'd all theirs, but the upper lip. They likewise all wore long habits; as did the Bards and the Voids: but the Druids had on a white surplice, whenever they religiously officiated. In Ireland they, with the graduate Bards and Voids, had the privilege of wearing six colours in their *breacans* or robes, which were the striped braccæ of the Gauls, still worn by the Highlanders, whereas the king and queen might have in theirs but seven, lords and ladies five, governors of fortresses four, officers and young gentlemen of quality three, common soldiers two, and common people one. This sumptuary law, most of the Irish historians say, was

enacted under King Achains* the 1st.; tho' others, who will have this to be but the reviving of an old law, maintain it was first established by King Tigernmhas.

VIII. As the Druids were commonly wont to retire into grots, dark woods, mountains, and groves†, in which last they had their numerous schools, not without houses as some have foolishly dreamt, so many such places in France, Britain, and Ireland, do still bear their names: as *Dreux*, the place of their annual general assembly in France; *Kerig-y-Drudion*, or Druid-stones, a parish so call'd in Denbighshire, from a couple of their altars there still remaining. In Anglesey there is the village of *Tre'r Driu*, the town of the Druid, next to which is *Tre'r Beirdh* or Bards-town: as also in another place of the same island *Maen-y-Druu*, that is, the Druid's stone; and *Caer-Dreuin*, or the city of the Druids, in Merioneth-shire. The places in Ireland and the Hebrides are infinite. The present ignorant vulgar, in the first of the last-mention'd places, do believe, that those incanters were at last themselves enchanted by their apostle Patric and his disciples, miraculously confining them to the places that so bear their names;

* Fochaid Eudghathach.

† These groves for pleasure and retirement, as well as for awe and reverence, were different from the lurking places in forests and caves, into which they were forc'd when interdicted in Gaule and Britain.

where they are thought to retain much power, and sometimes to appear, which are fancies * like the English notion of fairies. Thus the Druid O'Murnin inhabits the hill of Creag-a-Vanny, in Inisoen; Aunius† in Benavny from him so call'd in the county of Londonderry, and Gealcoṣsa‡, in Gealcossa's mount in Inisoen aforesaid in the county of Dunegall. This last was a Druidess, and her name is of the homerical strain, signifying *White-legg'd* §. On this hill is her grave, the true enchantment which confines her, and hard by is her temple; being a sort of diminutive stone-henge, which many of the old Irish dare not even at this day any way prophane. I shall discover such things about these temples, whereof multitudes are still existing, many of them entire, in the Hebrides, in Orkney, and on the opposite Continent; as also many in Wales, in Jersey and Guernsey, and some in England and Ireland, the most remarkable to be accurately describ'd and delineated in our history. I shall discover such things, I say, about the famous Egg of the Druids, to the learned hitherto a riddle, not to speak of their magical gems and

* Such fancies came from the hiding of the persecuted Druids, from the reign of Tiberius, who made the first law against them (having been discountenanced by Augustus) but strictly put in execution by Claudius, and the following emperors, till their utter extirpation by the general conversion of the people to christianity.

† Aibhne or Oibhne. ‡ Gealchossach. § *Cnuc na Gealchossach*.

herbs: as also about their favourite all-heal or Misselto*, gather'd with so much ceremony by a priest in his white surplice, as Pliny† tells us, and with a gold pruning-knife; as well as about the abstrusest parts of their philosophy and religion, that the like has not yet appear'd in any author, who has treated of them. The books of such are either bare collections of fragments, or a heap of precarious fables; I mean especially some French writers on this subject, as Picard, Forcatulus, Guenebaut, with others of no better allay in Britain and Germany; for as I admit nothing without good authority, so I justly expect, that, without as good, nothing will be admitted from me.

IX. But, my lord, besides these Druids, the antient Gauls, Britons, and Irish, had another order of learned men, call'd Bards, whereof we shall sufficiently discourse in our propos'd work. *Bard* is still the Irish and Scottish word, as *Bardh* the Armoric and British. There's no difference in the pronunciation, tho', according to their different manner of writing in expressing the power of the letters, they vary a little in the orthography‡. The Bards were divided into three

* All these heads will be so many intire chapters.

† *Sacerdos, candida veste cultus, arborem scandit: falce aurea demetit.* Hist. Nat. Lib. 16. Cap. 44.

‡ Let it be noted once for all, that, as in other tongues, so in Irish and Welsh particu'arly, *t* and *d* are commonly put for each other, by reason of their affinity; and that *dh* and *gh* being pronounc'd alike in Irish, and therefore often confounded, yet an

orders or degrees, namely, to give an example now in the British dialect, as I shall give their turns to all the Celtic colonies, *Privardh*, *Posvardh*, and *Aruyvardh*: but, with regard to the subjects whereof they treated, they were call'd *Prududh*, or *Tevluur*, or *Clerur*; which words, with the equivalent Irish names, shall be explain'd in our history, where you'll find this division of the Bards well warranted. The first were chronologers, the second heralds, and the third comic or satyrical poets among the vulgar: for the second sort did sing the praises of great men in the heroic strain, very often at the head of armies, like him in Virgil;

Cretea musarum comitem, cui carmina semper
Et citharae cordi, numerosque intendere nervis;
Semper equos, atq; arma virum, pugnasq; canebat:

VIRG. ÆN. Lib. 9.

And the first, who likewise accompany'd them in peace, did historically register their genealogies and atchievements. We have some proofs that

exact writer will always have regard to the origin as well as to the analogy of any word: and so he'll write *Druidhe*, (for example) and not *Druighe*, much less *Draoithe* broadly and aspirately; nor will he use any other misspellings, tho' ever so common in books. This is well observ'd by an old author, who writing of Conla, a heathen freethinking judge of Connacht, thus characterizes him; *Se do rinee an choinbhliocht ris na Druidhibh*: 'twas he that disputed against the Druids. These criticisms, some would say, are trifles: but *Hae nugae in seria ducunt*.

the panegyrics of the Gallic Bards did not always want wit no more that flattery; and particularly an instance out of Atheneus, who had it from Posidonius the stoic, concerning Luernius*, a Gallic prince, extraordinary rich, liberal, and magnificent. He was the father of that same Bittus, who was beaten by the Romans. Now this Luernius, says† my author, “ Having appointed a certain “ day for a feast, and one of the barbarous poets “ coming too late, met him, as he was departing; “ whereupon he began to sing his praises and to “ extol his grandeur, but to lament his own unhappy delay. Luernius being delighted, call’d “ for a purse of gold, which he threw to him, as “ he ran by the side of his chariot: and he taking “ it up, began to sing again to this purpose; *That “ out of the tracks his chariot had plow’d on the “ ground, sprung up gold and blessings to mankind.*” As some of the Gallic Bards were truly ingenious, so were many of them mere quibblers: and among the bombast of the British and Irish Bards, there want not infinite instances of the true sublime. Their epigrams were admirable, nor do

* Whether it be Luernius, or as Strabo writes it Luerius, the name is frequent either way in the antientest Irish writers, as Loarn, and Luire or Luighaire.

† Αφορισαντος δ’ αὐτὰ προβεσμίαν ποτὲ τῆς θοῆης, ἀφύερεσαντα τινα τῶν βαρβάρων ποιητὴν ἀφικεσθαι; καὶ συναντήσαντα μετ’ ὧδης ὑμνεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, ἑαυτὸν δ’ υποβριβεῖν ὅτι ὑστέρηκε: τόνδε τερψθέντα θυλακίον αἰτῆσαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ ριψαὶ αὐτῷ παρὰ τρεχόντι; ἀνελκύμενον δ’ ἐκείνον πάλιν ὑμνεῖν, λέγοντα, διὸ καὶ τὰ ἵχνη τῆς γῆς (ἐφ’ ἧς ἐρματῆλατι) χρυσὸν καὶ εὐρυχέσιας ἀνθρώποις φέρει. *Edit. Lugd. lib. 4. pag. 159.*

the modern Italians equal them in conceits. But in stirring the passions, their elegies and lamentations far exceed those of the Greeks, because they express nature much more naturally. These Bards are not yet quite extinct, there being of them in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland: nor did any country in the world abound like the last with this sort of men, whose licentious panegyrics or satyrs have not a little contributed to breed confusion in the Irish history. There were often at a time, a thousand *Ollaws**, or graduate poets, besides a proportionable number of inferior rhymers, who all of 'em liv'd most of the year on free cost: and, what out of fear of their railing, or love of their flattery, no body durst deny them any thing, be it armour, fewel, horse, mantle, or the like; which grew into a general custom, whereof the poets did not fail to take the advantage. The great men, out of self-love and interest, encourag'd no other kind of learning, especially after they professed christianity: the good regulation, under which they were in the time of Druidism, as then in some manner belonging to the temples, having been destroyed with that religion. In a small time they became such a grievance, that several attempts were made to rid the nation of them: and, which is something comical, what at least our present poets would not extraordinarily like, the orders

* *Ollamh* is a professor or doctor in any faculty.

for banishing them were always to the Highlands of Scotland: while they were as often harbour'd in Ulster, till upon promise of amendment of their manners, I mean, and not of their poetry, they were permitted to return to the other provinces. At last, in a general national assembly, or parliament, at Drumcat*, in the country we now call the county of Londonderry, under Aidus Anmireus†, XIth christian king, in the year 597, where was also present Adius‡, king of Scotland, and the great Columba§, it was decreed: that for the better preservation of their history, genealogies, and the purity of their language, the supreme monarch, and the subordinate kings, with every lord of a cantred, should entertain a poet of his own, no more being allowed by the antient law in the island: and that upon each of these and their posterity a portion of land free from all duties, shou'd be settl'd for ever; that, for encouraging the learning these poets and antiquaries profess, public schools shou'd be appointed and endow'd, under the national inspection; and that the monarch's own bard shou'd be arch-poet||, and have super-intendancy over the rest. 'Tis a common mistake, into which father Pezron has fallen, among others, that the Bards belonged to the body of the Druids: but this is not the place to rectify

* *Druim-ceat* alias *Druimcheat*. † Aodhmhac Ainmhire.

‡ Aodhanmhac Gaurain. § Coluim-cille. || *Ard-Ollamh*.

it. They made hymns for the use of the temples, 'tis true, and manag'd the music there; but they were the Druids that officiated as priests, and no sacrifices were offer'd but by their ministry.

X. In the history likewise shall be fully explain'd the third order of the Celtic Literati, by the Greeks called *Ouateis*, and by the Romans *Vates*; which yet is neither Grec nor Roman, but a mere Celtic word, viz. *Faidh*, which signifies to this day a prophet in all Irish books, and in the common language, particularly in the Irish translation of the Bible; where Druids* are also commonly put for inchanters, as those of Egypt, and especially for the Mages, or as we translate, the wise men† that came from the East, to visit Jesus in his cradle. So easily do men convey their own ideas into other men's books, or find 'em there; which has been the source of infinite mistakes, not only in divinity, but also in philosophy and philology. The Celtic Vaid‡, were physicians and diviners, great proficient in natural philosophy, as were likewise the Druids, who

* *Draoithe*, Exod. 7. 11. Anois Draoithe na Héigpte dor inneedursanfós aran modhgceadna le nandroigheachtuibh.

† Mat. 2. 1. Feuch Tangadar Draoithe o naird shoir go Hiarusalem.

‡ The word *Faidh* (or *Vait* by the usual conversion of the letters *F* into *V*, and *D* into *T*) whence the Latin made *Vates*; and their critics acknowledge, that they took many words from the Gauls. The *Euchages* and *Eubages*, in some copies of Ammianus Marcellinus, are false readings, as in time will appear.

had the particular inspection of morals, but Cicero, who was well acquainted with one of the prime Druids, remarks, that their predictions were as much grounded on conjecture*, as on the rules of augury: both equally fortuitous and fallacious. For the saying of Euripides will ever hold true, that *the best guesser is the best prophet*†. He that is nearly acquainted with the state of affairs, that understands the spring of human actions, and, that judiciously allowing for circumstances, compares the present time with the past: he, I say, will make a shrewd guess at the future. By this time, my lord, you begin to perceive what is to be the subject of the history I intend to write; which, tho' a piece of general learning and great curiosity, yet I shall make it my business so to digest, as to render it no less entertaining than instructive to all sorts of readers, without excepting the ladies, who are pretty much concern'd in this matter; throwing, as I told you before, all my critical observations, and disquisitions about words, into the margin, or the dissertation annexed to the history. As to what I say of the ladies

So are *Drusi*, *Drusides*, and *Drusiades* for *Druides*: as likewise *Vardi*, from the British and Irish oblique cases of *Bard*.

*Siquidem & in Gallia Druides sunt, e quibus ipse Divitiacum Aeduum, hospitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi (ioquit Quintus) qui & naturæ rationem, quam physiologiam Græci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur; & partim Auguriis, partim conjectura, quæ essent futura dicebat. *De Divinat, lib. 1. cap. 41.*

† Μαντις ἀριστερὸς, ὅστις εἰσαίνει καλῶς.

being concern'd in this history, there were not only Druidesses; but some even of the highest rank, and princesses themselves were educated by the Druids: for in our annals we read, that the two daughters of king Laogirius*, in whose reign Patric preach'd christianity, were educated by them; and we have the particulars of a long dispute those young ladies maintained against this new religion, very natural but very subtil. Several other ladies bred under the Druids became famous for their writings and proficiency in learning, of some of whom we shall occasionally give an account: but lest I shou'd be thought in every thing to flatter the sex, how much soever I respect them, I refer the reader to a story in my third letter. But, in order to complete my design, so as to leave no room for any to write on this subject after me; and also to procure several valuable manuscripts, or authentic copies of them, well knowing where they ly, I purpose towards the spring to take a journey for at least six months: which, at our next meeting, I shall do myself the honour to impart to your lordship very particularly.

XI. The Irish, a few Scandinavian and Danish words excepted, being not only a dialect of the ancient Celtic or Gallic, but being also liker the mother than her other daughter the British; and the Irish manuscripts being more numerous and

* Laoghaire.

much antienter than the Welsh, shows beyond all contradiction the necessity of this language for retrieving the knowledge of the Celtic religion and learning. Camden and others have long since taken notice of the agreement between the present British and those old Gallic words collected by learned men out of Greec and Roman authors: and the industrious Mr. Edward Lhuyd, late keeper of the Museum at Oxford, perceiv'd this affinity between the same words and the Irish, even before he study'd that language, by the demonstration I gave him of the same in all the said instances. Nor does he deny this agreement in *the comparative Etymologicon* he afterwards made of those languages, where he quotes Camden and Boxhornius affirming it about the Gallic and British; *but there being*, says he*, *no Vocabulary extant*, meaning no doubt in print, *of the Irish, or antient Scottish, they cou'd not collect that language therewith, which the curious in those studies will now find to agree rather more than ours, with the Gaulish*. That it does so, is absolute fact, as will be seen by hundreds of instances in this present work. I am aware that what I am going to say will sound very oddly, and seem more than a paradox; but I deserve, my lord, and shall be content with your severest censure, if, before you have finish'd reading these sheets, you be not firmly of the same mind yourself; namely, that, without the know-

* In the preface to his *Archæologia Britannica*, pag. 1.

lege of the Irish language and books, the Gallic antiquities, not meaning the Francic, can never be set in any tolerable light, with regard either to words or to things; and numerous occasions there will occur in this *History* of illustrating both words and things even in the Grec and Roman authors. I shall here give one example of this, since I just come from treating of the several professors of learning common to the antient Gauls, Britons, and Scots, viz. the Druids, Bards, and Vuids. Lucian* relates that in Gaule he saw Hercules represented as a little old man, whom in the language of the country they call'd *Ogmios*; drawing after him an infinite multitude of persons, who seem'd most willing to follow, tho' drag'd by extreme fine and almost imperceptible chains; which were fasten'd at the one end to their ears, and held at the other, not in either of Hercules's hands, which were both otherwise imploy'd; but ty'd to the tip of his tongue, in which there was a hole on purpose, where all those chains centr'd. Lucian wondering at this manner of portraying Hercules, was inform'd by a learned Druid who stood by, that Hercules did not in Gaul, as in Greece, betoken *strength of body*, but the *force of eloquence*; which is there very beautifully display'd by the Druid, in his explication of the picture that hung in the

* Τὸν Ἑρακλέα οἱ Κέλται ΟΓΜΙΟΝ ονομαζούσι φωνῇ πη ἐπιχώριω, et quae sequuntur in Hercule Gallico: Græca etenim longiora sunt, quàm ut hic commodè inseri possint.

temple. Now, the critics of all nations have made a heavy pother about this same word *Ogmios*, and labouriously sought for the meaning of it every where, but just where it was to be found. The most celebrated Bochart, who, against the grain of nature, if I may so speak, wou'd needs reduce all things to Phenician; says it is an oriental word, since the Arabians* call strangers and barbarians *Agemion*: as if, because the Phenicians traded antiently to Gaule and the British islands, for colonies in them they planted none, they must have also imported their language; and, with their other commodities, barter'd it for something to the natives, naming their places, their men, and their gods for them. Our present Britons, who are at least as great traders, do not find they can do so in Phenicia, nor nearer home in Greece and Italy, nor yet at their own doors in this very Gaule: besides that Lucian does positively affirm *Ogmios* was a Gallic word, *a word of the country*†. This has not hinder'd a learned English physician, Dr. Edmund Dickenson, from hunting still in the east for a derivation of it; conjecturing *Hercules* to be *Joshua*‡, who was surnamed *Ogmios*, for having conquer'd *Og* king of Bashan:

* In *Geographia Sacra, sive Canaan*, part 2. cap. 42.

† Φωνη τη επιχωριω. *Ubi supra*.

‡ *Josua* quoque spectasse videtur illud nomen, quo Galli antiquitus *Herculem* nuncupabant. Unde vero ογμιος? Annon ab *Og* victo? Delph. Phœnicizant. cap. 3.

O! sanctas gentes! quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina.

JUVENAL, *Sat.* 15. ver. 10.

I could make your lordship yet merryer, or rather angrier, at these forc'd and far-fetch'd etymologies, together with others hammer'd as wretchedly out of Greec, nay even out of Suedish and German. But the word Ogmius, as Lucian was truely inform'd, is pure Celtic; and signifies, to use Tacitus's* phrase about the Germans, *the Secret of Letters*, particularly the letters themselves, and consequently the learning that depends on them, from whence the *force of eloquence* proceeds: so that Hercules Ogmius is *the learned Hercules*, or Hercules *the protector of learning*, having by many been reputed himself a philosopher†. To prove this account of the word, so natural and so apt, be pleas'd to understand, that, from the very beginning of the colony, Ogum, sometimes written Ogam, and also Ogma‡, has signify'd in Ireland the secret of letters, or the Irish alphabet; for the truth of which I appeal to all the antient Irish books, without a single exception. 'Tis one of

* *Literarum Secreta viri pariter ac foeminae ignorant. De moribus Germanorum, cap. 19.*

† Εν δε τοις χρονοις της βασιλειας τε φοινικος ην 'Ερακλῆς, ο φιλοσοφος Τυριες, ος τις εφευρε την κογχυλην, &c. *Palæphati fragmentum in Chronico Alexandrino.* 'Ερακλῆς Αλκμήνης υιος. Τautον φιλοσοφον ιστορουσι, &c. *Suidas in voce 'Ερακλῆς. Et diu ante Suidam audiebat apud Heraclitum, in Allegoriis Homericis, Αηε εμφραστ, και σοφιας ουρανιου μυσης, ωσπερει κατα βαθειας αχλυσ επιθεδυκταιν εφωτιζε την φιλοσοφίαν, καθαπερ υμολογουσι και Στωικων οι δοκιμωτατοι.*

‡ As in the Dublin college manuscript, to be presently cited.

the most authentic words of the language, and originally stands for this notion alone. Indeed after Patric had converted the nation, and, for the better propagating of christian books, introduc'd the use of the Roman letters, instead of the antient manner of writing, their primitive letters, very different from those they now use, began by degrees to grow obsolete; and at last legible only by antiquaries and other curious men, to whom they stood in as good stead as any kind of occult characters; whence it happen'd that Ogum, from signifying the *secret of writing*, came to signify *secret writing*, but still principally meaning the original Irish characters. There are several manuscript treatises extant, describing and teaching the various methods of this secret writing; as one in the college-library of Dublin*, and another in that of his grace the duke of Chandois†. Sir James Ware, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, relating how *the antient Irish did, besides the vulgar characters, practise also divers ways and arts of occult writing, call'd Ogum, in which they wrote their secrets*; I have, continues he‡, *an antient parchment book full of*

* 'Tis, among other pieces, in *The Book of Ballimore*; being the 255th volum in the Dublin catalogue, in parchment, folio, D. 18.

† Anonymi cujusdam Tractatus de variis apud Hibernos veteres occultis scribendi formulis, Hibernicè *Ogum* dictis.

‡ Præter characteres vulgares utebantur etiam veteres Hiberni variis occultis scribendi formulis seu artificiis, *Ogum* dictis, qui-

these, which is the same just now said to belong to the duke of Chandois: and Dudley Forbes*, a hereditary antiquary, wrote to the rather laborious than judicious chronologist O'Flaherty†, in the year 1683, that he had some of the primitive birch-tables‡, for those they had before the use of parchment or paper, and many sorts of the old occult writing by him. These are principally the *Ogham-beith*, the *Ogham-coll*, and the *Ogham-craoth*§, which last is the old one and the true. But that the primary Irish letters, the letters first in common use, which in the manner we have shown, became accidentally occult, were originally meant by the word *ogum*; besides the appeal made above to all antient authors, is plain in particular from Forchern, a noted bard and philosopher, who liv'd a little before Christ. This learned man ascribing with others the invention of letters to the Phenicians, or rather more strictly and properly to Phenix, whom the Irish call *Fenius farsaidh*, or *Phenix the antient*, says, that, among other alphabets, as the Hebrew, Greec, and Latin, he also compos'd that of *Bethluisnion an Oghuim*||,

bus secreta sua scribebant: his refertum habeo libellum membranaceum antiquum. *Cap. 2.*

* Dualtach mhac Firbis. † Rudhruigh O Flaith-bheartuigh.

‡ *Ogygia*, part. 3. cap. 30. § *Ogum-branches*.

|| Fenius Farsaidh alphabeta prima Hebræorum, Græcorum, Latinorum, et Bethluisnion an Oghuim, composuit. *Ex Forcherni libro, octingentis retro annis Latinè reddito.*

the *alphabet of ogum*, or the Irish alphabet, meaning that he invented the first letters, in imitation of which the alphabets of those nations were made. *Ogum* is also taken in this sense by the best modern writers: as William O'Donnell*, afterwards archbishop of Tuam, in his preface to the *Irish New Testament*, dedicated to King James the First, and printed at Dublin in the year 1602, speaking of one of his assistants, says, that *he enjoyn'd him to write the other part according to the Ogum and propriety of the Irish tongue*; where *Ogum* must necessarily signify the alphabet, orthography, and true manner of writing Irish. From all this it is clear, why among the Gauls, of whom the Irish had their language and religion, Hercules, as the protector of learning, shou'd be call'd Ogmios, the termination alone being Greec. Nor is this all. Ogma was not only a known proper name in Ireland, but also one of the most antient; since Ogma Grianann, the father of King Dalboetius †, was one of the first of the Danannan race, many ages before Lucian's time. He was a very learned man, marry'd to Eathna, a famous poetess, who bore, besides the fore-mention'd monarch, Cairbre, likewise a poet: insomuch that Ogma was deservedly surnamed Grianann‡, which is to say Phebean, where you may observe learning still attending

* William O Domhnuill.

† Dealbhaoith.

‡ *Grian* is the sun, and *Grianann* sun-like, or belonging to the sun.

this name. The Celtic language being now almost extinct in Gaule, except onely in lower Britany, and such Gallic words as remain scatter'd among the French; subsists however intire in the several dialects* of the Celtic colonies, as do the word *sogum* and *ogma*, particularly in Irish. Nor is there any thing better known to the learned, or will appear more undeniable in the sequel of this work, than that words lost in one dialect of the same common language, are often found in another: as a Saxon word, for example, grown obsolete in Germany, but remaining yet in England, may be also us'd in Switzerland; or another word grown out of date in England, and flourishing still in Denmark, continues likewise in Iceland. So most of the antiquated English words are more or less corruptly extant in Friezland, Jutland, and the other northern countries; with not a few in the Lowlands of Scotland, and in the old English pale in Ireland.

XII. Now, from the name of Hercules let's come to his person, or at least to the person acknowledg'd to have been one of the heros worship'd by the Gauls, and suppos'd by the Greeks and Romans to be Hercules. On this occasion I cannot but reflect on the opposite conduct, which the learned and the unlearned formerly observ'd, with respect to the Gods and divine matters. If, thro' the ignorance or superstition of the people, any

* These are Brittish, Welsh, Cornish, Irish, Manks, and Earse.

fable, tho' ever so gross, was generally receiv'd in a religion; the learned being asham'd of such an absurdity, yet not daring openly to explode any thing wherein the priests found their account, explain'd it away by emblems and allegories importing a reasonable meaning, of which the first authors never thought: and if the learned on the other hand, either to procure the greater veneration for their dictates, or the better to conceal their sentiments from the profane vulgar, did poetically discourse of the elements and qualities of matter, of the constellations or the planets, and the like effects of nature, veiling them as persons; the common sort immediately took them for so many persons in good earnest, and render'd 'em divine worship under such forms as the priests judg'd fittest to represent them. Objects of divine worship have been coin'd out of the rhetorical flights of orators, or the flattering addresses of panegyrists: even metaphors and epithets have been transform'd into gods, which procur'd mony for the priests as well as the best; and this by so much the more, as such objects were multiply'd. This is the unavoidable consequence of deviating ever so little from plain truth, which is never so heartily and highly reverenc'd, as when appearing in her native simplicity; for as soon as her genuine beauties are endeavour'd to be heighten'd by borrow'd ornaments, and that she's put under a disguise in gorgeous apparel: she quickly becomes, like

others affecting such a dress, a mercenary prostitute, wholly acting by vanity, artifice, or interest, and never speaking but in ambiguous or unintelligible terms; while the admiration of her lovers is first turn'd into amazement, as it commonly ends in content and hatred. But over and above the difficulty, which these proceedings have occasioned in the history of antient time, there arises a greater from time itself destroying infinite circumstances, the want whereof causes that to seem afterwards obscure, which at the beginning was very clear and easy. To this we may join the preposterous emulation of nations, in ascribing to their own gods or heros whatever qualities were pre-eminent in those of others. That most judicious writer* about the nature of the gods, commonly call'd Phurnutus, tho' his true name was Cornutus, a stoic philosopher, whom I shall have frequent occasion to quote hereafter, "owns the "great variety†, and consequently the perplexed-
"ness and obscurity, that occurs in the history of
"Hercules, whereby it is difficult to know certain-

* Φουρνουτου θεωρια περι της των θεων φυσικης, vulgò: sed, ut Ravii codex & Vaticanus legunt (notante doctissimo Galeo) verus titulus est Κορνουτου επι-
δρομη των καλα την Έλληνικην θεωριαν παραδιδωμενων.

† Το δε δυσδιακριθα γεγονεναι τα τι θεου ιδια, απο των περι του Ηρωος ισουρουμενων. Ταχα δ'αν η λεοντη και το ρυπαλον εκ της παλαιας θεολογιας επι τουτον μεινεννημετα ειη; εργαηγον γαρ αυτον γενομενον αγαθον, και πολλα μερη της γης μετα δυναμεως επελ-
θοντα, ουχ' οιον τε γυμνον εδοξαν περιελθυθεναι ξυλω μονω απλισμενον: αλλα τοις *
επισημοις του θεου, μετα τον απαθανατισμον, υπο των ευεργετουμενων κεκοσμηθηαι;
συμβολον γαρ εκαλεσον ειη ρωμης και γειταιοτητος. δ'c. cap. 31.

* Alii πικρυνη.

“ly what were his real atchievements, or what were
 “fabulously fathered upon him: but having been
 “an excellent general, who had in diverse coun-
 “tries signaliz’d his valor, he thinks it not proba-
 “ble, that he went onely arm’d with a lion’s skin
 “and a club; but that he was represented after
 “his death with these, as symbols of generosity
 “and fortitude, for which reason he was pictur’d
 “with a bow and arrows.” To this let me add,
 that several valiant men in several nations having,
 in imitation of some one man any where, been cal-
 led or rather surnam’d Hercules; not only the
 works of many, as subduing of tyrants, extermina-
 ting of wild beasts, promoting or exercising of
 commerce, and protecting or improving of learning,
 have been ascrib’d to one: but that also wherever
 any robust person was found represented with a
 skin and a club, a bow and arrows, he was
 straight deem’d to be Hercules; whence the Eryp-
 tian, the Indian, the Tyrian, the Cretan, the Gre-
 cian or Theban, and the Gallic Hercules. This
 was a constant way with the Greecs and Romans,
 who, for example, from certain resemblances per-
 fectly accidental, conjectur’d that Isis was ho-
 nour’d by the Germans*, and Bacchus worship’d

* Pars Suevorum & Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo
 peregrino sacro parum comperi; nisi quod signum ipsum, in
 modum Liburnæ figuratum, docet advectam Religionem. *Tacit.*
de mor. German. cap. 9.

by the Jews*, which last notion is refuted even by their enemy Tacitus †. Such superficial discoveries about the Celtic divinities I shall abundantly expose. Yet that Ogmius might be really the Grecian Hercules, well known in Gaule, it will be no valid exception that he was by the Druids theologically made the symbol of the force of eloquence, for which that country has been ever distinguish'd and esteem'd: since even in Greece he was, as Phurnutus assures us, mystically accounted, *that reason which is diffus'd thro' all things, according to which nature is vigorous and strong, invincible and ever generating; being the power that communicates virtue and firmness to every part of things* ‡. The scholiast of Appollonius affirms, that the natural philosophers understood by Hercules, *the intelligence and permanence of beings* §: as the Egyptians held him to be *that reason, which is in the whole of things, and in every part* ||. Thus

* *Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. 4.* quem prolixius disserentem otiosus consulas, lector.

† *Quia sacerdotes eorum tibiâ tympanisque concinebant, hederâ vinciebantur, vitisque aurea templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli, domitorem Orientis, quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congruentibus institutis: quippe Liber festos lætosque ritus posuit, Judæorum mos absurdus sordidusque. Lib. 5. cap. 5.*

‡ 'Ηρακλής δε ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις λόγος, καθ' ὃν ἡ φύσις ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κράτα ἐστὶν, ἀνίκητος καὶ ἀπεριγενήτως εὐσφ: μεταδοτικὸς ὡχρὸς, καὶ τῆς παρὰ μέρος ἀληθείας ὑπαρχῶν. *Ubi supra.*

§ *Παρά τοις φυσικοῖς ὁ 'Ηρακλής συνήσις καὶ ἀληθὴ λαμβάνεται.*

|| *Τὸν ἐν παντί, καὶ διὰ παντὸς, λόγον; non ἧλιον, ut corruptè legi cum Galeo suspicor in Macrobio, Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 20.*

the learned allegoriz'd away among others, as I said before, the fabulous atchievements and miraculous birth of this hero, on which we shall however touch again, when we come to explain the heathen humor of making all extraordinary persons the sons of gods, and commonly begot on virgins; tho' this last is not the case of Hercules, who was feign'd to be the son of Jupiter by Alcmena, another man's wife. This wou'd be reckon'd immoral among men, but Jupiter (said the priests) can do with his own what he pleases: which reason, if it contented the husbands, cou'd not displease the batchelors, who might chance to be sometimes Jupiter's substitutes. The Druidical allegory of *Ogmios*, or the Gallic Hercules, which in its proper place I shall give you at large, is extremely beautiful: and, as it concerns that eloquence whereof you are so consummate a master, cannot but powerfully charm you.

XIII. In the mean time 'tis probable your lordship will be desirous to know, whether, besides the language and traditions of the Irish, or the monuments of stone and other materials which the country affords, there yet remain any literary records truly antient and unadulterated, whereby *the history of the Druids*, with such other points of antiquity, may be retriev'd, or at least illustrated? This is a material question, to which I return a clear and direct answer; that not onely there remain very many antient manuscripts undoubtedly

genuine, besides such as are forg'd, and greater numbers interpolated *, several whereof are in Ireland itself, some here in England, and others in the Irish monasteries abroad: but that, notwithstanding the long state of barbarity in which that nation hath lain, and after all the rebellions and wars with which the kingdom has been harass'd; they have incomparably more antient materials of that kind for their history (to which even their mythology is not unserviceable) than either the English or the French, or any other European nation, with whose manuscripts I have any acquaintance. Of these I shall one day give a catalogue, marking the places where they now ly, as many as I know of them; but not meaning every transcript of the same manuscript, which wou'd be endless, if not impossible. In all conditions the Irish have been strangely solicitous, if not to some degree supersitious, about preserving their books and parchments; even those of them which are so old, as to be now partly or wholly unintelligible. Abundance, thro' over care, have perished under ground, the concealer not having skill, or wanting searchloth and other proper materials for preserving them. The most valuable pieces, both in verse and prose, were written by their heathen ancestors; whereof some

* As the *Uraiceacht na neigios*, i. e. the accidence of the artists, or the poets; which being the work of Forchern before-nam'd, was interpolated, and fitted to his own time, by Ceann Faoladh, the son of Oilioll, in the year of Christ 628.

indeed have been interpolated after the prevailing of christianity, which additions or alterations are nevertheless easily distinguish'd: and in these books the rights and formularies of the Druids, together with their divinity and philosophy; especially their two grand doctrines of the eternity and incorruptibility of the universe, and the incessant revolution of all beings and forms, are very specially, tho' sometimes very figuratively express'd. Hence their *allanination* and *transmigration*. Why none of the natives have hitherto made any better use of these treasures; or why both they, and such others as have written concerning the history of Ireland, have onely entertain'd the world with the fables of it (as no country wants a fabulous account of its original, or the succession of its princes); why the modern Irish historians, I say, give us such a medly of relations, unpick'd and unchosen, I had rather any man else shou'd tell. The matter is certainly ready, there wants but will or skill for working of it; separating the dross from the pure ore, and distinguishing counterfeit from sterling coin. This in the mean time is undeniable, that learned men in other places, perceiving the same dishes to be eternally served up at every meal, are of opinion that there is no better fare in the country; while those things have been conceal'd from them by the ignorant or the lazy, that would have added no small ornament even to their classical studies. Of this I hope to con-

vince the world by the lustre, which, in this work, I shall impart to the antiquities not only of Gaule and Britain, but likewise to numerous passages of the Grec and Latin authors. How many noble discoveries of the like kind might be made in all countries, where the use of letters has long subsisted! Such things in the mean time are as if they were not: for

Paulum sepultæ distat inertię
Celata virtus.

HORAT. lib. 4. Od. 9.

The use of letters has been very antient in Ireland, which at first were cut on the bark of trees*, prepared for that purpose; or on smooth tables of birch wood, which were call'd *poets tables*†; as their characters were in general nam'd *twigs and branch-letters*‡, from their shape. Their alphabet was call'd *Beth-luis-nion*, from the three first letters of the same, B, L, N, *Beth*, *Luis*, *Nion*§: for the particular name of every letter was, for memory-sake, from some tree or other vegetable; which, in the infancy of writing on barks and boards, was very natural. They had also many characters signifying whole words, like the Egyptians and the Chinese. When Patric introduc'd the Roman letters (as I said above) then, from a corruption of *Abcedarium*, they call'd their new

* *Oraium*. † *Taibhle Fíleadh*. ‡ *Feadha: Craobh Ogham*.
§ *Birch, Quicken, and Ash*.

alphabet *Aibghittir**; which, by the Monkish writers, has been latiniz'd *Abgetorium*†. But there flourish'd a great number of Druids, Bards, Vuids, and other authors, in Ireland, long before Patric's arrival; whose learning was not only more extensive, but also much more useful than that of their christian posterity: this last sort being almost wholly imploy'd in scholastic divinity, metaphysical or chronological disputes, legends, miracles, and martyrologies, especially after the eighth century. Of all the things committed to writing by the heathen Irish, none were more celebrated, or indeed in themselves more valuable, than their laws; which were deliver'd, as antiently among some other nations, in short sentences, commonly in verse; no less reputed infallible oracles than the Lacedemonian *Rethræ*‡: and, what's remarkable, they are expressly term'd *celestial judgements*§; for the pronouncing of

* At first it was very analogically pronounc'd *Ab-kedair*, since the letter C then in Latin, as still in Irish and Brittish, had the force of K no less before E and I, than before A, O, U; having never been pronounc'd like S by the antient Romans, who said *Kikero*, *kenseo*, *koechus*, but not *Sisero*, *senseo*, *soecus*, when the words *Cicero*, *censeo*, *coecus*, or such like occur'd: so that *Abkedair* did naturally liquidate into *Aibghittir*, in the manner that all grammarians know.

† Scripsit Abgetoria [scilicet Patricius] 355, et eo amplius numero. *Nenn. Hist. Britan. cap. 59.*

† Περαι.

§ *Breatha nimhe*,

which, the most famous were Forchern, Neid, Conla, Eogan, Modan, Moran, King Cormac, his chief justice Fithil, Fachma, Maine, Ethnea, the daughter of Amalgad, and many more. These *celestial judgments* were only preserv'd in traditionary poems, according to the institution of the Druids, till committed to writing at the command of Concovar*, king of Ulster, who dy'd in the year of Christ 48, whereas Patric begun his apostleship but in the year 432. The poets that wrote were numberless, of whose works several pieces remain still intire, with diverse fragments of others. The three greatest encouragers of learning among the heathen Irish monarchs were first, King Achaius† (surnamed *the doctor of Ireland*), who is said to have built at Tarah, an academy, call'd *the court of the learned*‡. 'Twas he that ordain'd, for every principal family, hereditary antiquaries; or, in case of incapacity, the most able of the same historical house, with rank and privileges immediately after the Druids. The next promoter of letters was King Tuathalius§, whose surname is render'd Bonaventura (tho' not so properly), and who appointed a triennial revision of all the antiquaries books, by a committee of three kings or great lords, three Druids, and three antiquaries. These were to cause whatever was approv'd and found valuable in those books,

* Conchobhar Nessan, i. e. Mac Neassa. † Eochaidh Olamhfodla. ‡ Mur.Ollamhan. § Tuathal Teachtmhar.

to be transcrib'd into the royal *Book of Tarah**, which was to be the perpetual standard of their history, and by which the contents of all other such books shou'd be receiv'd or rejected. Such good regulations I say there were made, but not how long or how well observ'd; or, if truth is to be preferr'd to all other respects, we must own they were but very slightly regarded; and that the bards, besides their poetical licence, were both mercenary and partial to a scandalous degree. The ordinance, however, is admirable, and deserves more to be imitated, than we can ever expect it to be so any where. The third most munificent patron of literature was King Cormac, surnamed *Long-beard*†, who renew'd the laws about the antiquaries, rebuilt and enlarg'd the academy of Tarah for history, law, and military prowess: besides that, he was an indefatigable distributor of justice, having written himself abundance of laws still extant. So in his *Institution of a Prince*‡, or his *Precepts*§ to his son and successor Carbre|| Fiffecair, who in like manner was not superficially addicted to the muses. Cormac was a great proficient in philosophy, made light

* Leabhar Teamhra.

† Ulfhada.

‡ 'Tis, among other most valuable pieces, in the collection call'd O Duvegan's, folio 190. a, now or late in the possession of the right honourable the earl of Claurickard. There are copies of it elsewhere, but that's the oldest known.

§ Teagarg Riogh.

|| Cairbre Lifochair.

of the superstitions of the Druids in his youth, and, in his old age, having quitted the scepter, he led a contemplative life, rejecting all the druidical fables and idolatry, and acknowledging only one Supreme Being, or first cause. This short account of the primevous Irish learning, whereof you'll see many proofs and particulars in the more than once mention'd *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies* (to be annext to our *Critical History*), will, I am confident, excite your curiosity.

XIV. The custom, therefore, or rather cunning of the Druids, in not committing their rites or doctrines to writing, has not depriv'd us (as some may be apt to imagine) of sufficient materials to compile their history. For, in the first place, when the Romans became masters of Gaule, and every where mixt with the natives; they cou'd not avoid, in that time of light and learning, but arrive at the certain knowledge of whatever facts they have been pleas'd to hand down to us, tho' not always rightly taking the usages of other nations: as it must needs be from a full conviction of the Druidical fraudulent superstitions, and barbarous tyranny exercis'd over the credulous people, that these same Romans, who tolerated all religions, yet suppress this institution in Gaule and Britain, with the utmost severity. The Druids, however, were not immediately extinguish'd, but only their barbarous, tyrannical, or illusory usages. And in-

deed their human sacrifices, with their pretended magic, and an authority incompatible with the power of the magistrate, were things not to be indur'd by so wise a state as that of the Romans. In the second place, the Greec colony of Marseilles, a principal mart of learning, cou'd not want persons curious enough, to acquaint themselves with the religion, philosophy, and customs of the country, wherein they liv'd. Strabo, and others, give us an account of such. From these the elder Greeks had their information (not to speak now of the Gauls seated in Greece itself and in lesser Asia) as the later Greeks had theirs from the Romans; and, by good fortune, we have a vast number of passages from both. But, in the third place, among the Gauls themselves and the Britons, among the Irish and Albanian Scots, their historians and bards did always register abundance of particulars about the Druids, whose affairs were in most things inseparable from those of the rest of the inhabitants; as they were not only the judges in all matters civil or religious, but in a manner the executioners too in criminal causes; and that their sacrifices were very public, which consequently made their rites no less observable. One thing which much contributed to make them known, is, that the king was ever to have a Druid about his person; to pray and sacrifice, as well as to be a judge for determining emergent controversies, tho' he had a civil judge besides. So he had

one of the chief lords to advise him, a bard to sing the praises of his ancestors, a chronicler to register his own actions, a physician to take care of his health, and a musician to intertain him. Whoever was absent, these by law must be ever present, and no fewer than the three controllers of his family; which decemvirate was the institution of King Cormac. The same custom was taken up by all the nobles, whereof each had about him his Druid, chief vassal, bard, judge, physician, and harper, the four last having lands assign'd them, which descended to their families, wherein these professions were hereditary, as were their marshal, and the rest of their officers. After the introducing of christianity, the Druid was succeeded by a bishop or priest, but the rest continu'd on the antient foot, insomuch, that for a long time after the English conquest, the judges, the bards, physicians, and harpers, held such tenures in Ireland. The O Duvengans were the hereditary bards of the O Kellies, the O Clerys and the O Brodins were also hereditary antiquaries: the O Shiels and the O Canvans were such hereditary doctors, the Maglanchys such hereditary judges, and so of the rest; for more examples, especially in this place, are needless: it wou'd be but multiplying of names, without ever making the subject clearer. Only I must remark here, from the very nature of things, no less than from facts, that (tho' Cesar be silent about it) there were civil judges in Gaule

just as in Ireland, yet under the direction and controll of the Druids. This has led many to imagine, that, because the Druids influenc'd all, there were therefore no other judges, which is doubtless an egregious mistake.

XV. Further, tho' the Druids were exempted from bearing arms, yet they finally determin'd concerning peace and war: and those of that order, who attended the king and the nobles, were observ'd to be the greatest make-bates and incendiaries; the most averse to peace in council, and the most cruel of all others in action. Some of 'em were ally'd to kings, and many of 'em were king's sons, and great numbers of them cull'd out of the best families: which you see is an old trick, but has not been always effectual enough to perpetuate an order of men. This, however, made historians not to forget them, and indeed several of 'em render'd themselves very remarkable; as the Druid Trosdan, who found an antidote against the poyson'd arrows of certain British invaders: Cabadius*, grandfather to the most celebrated champion Cuculand†; Tages‡ the father of Mor-na, mother to the no less famous Fin mac Cuil§: Dader, who was kill'd by Eogain, son to Olill Olom king of Munster; which Eogan was marry'd to Moinic, the daughter of the Druid Dill. The Druid Mogruth, the son of Sinduinn, was the

* Cathbaid. † Cuchulaid. ‡ Tadhg. § Fin mhac Cubhail.

stoutest man in the wars of King Cormac: nor less valiant was Dubcomar*, the chief Druid of King Fiacha: and Lugadius Mac-Con, the abdicated king of Ireland, was treacherously run thro' the body with a lance by the Druid Fircchisus†. Ida and Ona (lords of Corcachlann near Roscommon) were Druids; whereof Ono presented his fortress of Imleach-Ono to Patric, who converted it into the religious house of Elphin, since an episcopal see‡. From the very name of Lamderg§, or Bloody-hand, we learn what sort of man the Druid was, who by the vulgar is thought to live enchanted in the mountain between Bunncranach and Fathen||, in the county of Dunnegall. Nor must we forget, tho' out of order of time, King Niall¶ *of the nine hostage's* Arch-Druid, by name Lagicinus Barchedius**, who procured a most cruel war against Eocha, king of Munster, for committing manslaughter on his son; and which the Druids making a common cause, there was no honour, law, or humanity observ'd towards this king, whose story, at length in our book, will stand as a last-

* Dubhchomar.

† Fearchios.

‡ *Ailfinn*, from a vast obelisc that stood by a well in that place; and that fell down in the year 1675. The word signifies the *white stone*, and was corrupted into *oilfinn*. Some wou'd derive the name from the clearness of the fountain, but 'tis by torture: others from one Oilfinn, a Danish commander.

§ Lambhdearg. || Taobhsaoil-treach. ¶ Niall Naoighi.allach.

** Laighichin mhac Barretheadha.

ing monument of druidical bloodyness, and a priest-ridden state. I conclude with Bacrach (chief Druid to Conchobhar Nesson, king of Ulster), who is fabl'd by the monks long after the extinction of the Druids, to have before it happen'd, others say at the very time, describ'd the passion of Jesus Christ, in so lively and moveing a manner, that the king, transported with rage, drew his sword, and, with inexpressible fury, fell a hacking and hewing the trees of the wood where he then was, which he mistook for the Jews: nay, that he put himself into such a heat as to dy of this frenzy. But even O'Flaherty, fully confutes this silly action*, not thinking it possible that such circumstances cou'd be any way inferr'd from an eclipse (which is the foundation of the story) nor that a clearer revelation shou'd be made of those things to the Irish Druids, than to the Jewish prophets: and, finally, by shewing, that Conchobhar dy'd quietly in his bed fifteen years after the crucifixion of Christ. Bacrach, however, was a great man, and the king himself had a Druid for his step-father and instructor.

XVI. It can be no wonder, therefore, that men thus sacred in their function, illustrious in their alliances, eminent for their learning, and honour'd for their valor, as well as dreaded for their power and influence, should also be memorable both in

* Ogyg.

the poetry and prose of their country. And so in fact they are, notwithstanding what Dudley Forbes, before mention'd, did, in a letter to an Irish writer*, in the year 1683, affirm: namely, that, in Patric's time no fewer than 180 volumes, relating to the affairs of the Druids, were burnt in Ireland. Dr. Kennedy says†, that Patric burnt 300 *volumns, stuff with the fables and superstitions of heathen idolatry; unfit*, adds he, *to be transmitted to posterity*. But, pray, how so: why are Gallic or Irish superstitions more unfit to be transmitted to posterity, than those of the Greeks and Romans? Why shou'd Patric be more squeamish in this respect than Moses or the succeeding Jewish prophets, who have transmitted to all ages the idolatries of the Egyptians, Phenicians, Caldeans, and other eastern nations? What an irreparable destruction of history, what a deplorable extinction of arts and inventions, what an unspeakable detriment to learning, what a dishonor upon human understanding, has the cowardly proceeding of the ignorant, or rather of the interested, against unarm'd monuments at all times occasion'd! And yet this book-burning and letter-murdring humor, tho' far from being commanded by Christ, has prevail'd in christianity from the beginning: as in the *Acts of the Apostles* we read,

* O Flaherty.

† *Dissertation about the family of the Stuarts*, pref. page 29.

that *many of them which believed, and us'd curious arts, brought their books together, and burnt them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver**, or about three hundred pounds sterling. This was the first instance of burning books among christians; and ever since that time the example has been better follow'd, than any precept of the gospel.

XVII. From what we have hitherto observ'd, you see that our historians, my lord, do (in spite of all chances) abound with matter enough to revive and illustrate the memory of the Druids. Besides that the rites and opinions of other nations serve not only to give light to theirs, but were many of them of Druidical or Celtic extraction. This no body will deny of the aboriginal Italians, who having been often over-run by the Gauls, and having several Gallic colonies planted among them, they partook both of their language and religion; as will be very easily evinc'd in our *Dissertation*, and has been already tolerably done by Father Pezron in his Celtic originals. Diogenes Laertius, in the proem of his *philosophical history*, reckons the Druids among the chief authors of the barbarous theology and philosophy, long anterior to the Greeks, their disciples: and Phurnutus, in his treatise of *the Nature of the Gods*, says most expressly, that “ among the many and various

* Acts 19. 19.

fables which the antient Greeks had about the Gods, some were derived from the Mages, some from the Egyptians and Gauls, others from the Africans and Phrygians, and others from other nations*: for which he cites Homer as a witness, nor is there any thing that bears a greater witness to itself. This, however, is not all: for, over and above the several helps I have mention'd, there are likewise numerous monuments of the worship of the Druids, their valor, policy, and manner of habitation, still remaining in France, in Britain, in Ireland, and in the adjacent islands; many of 'em intire, and the rest by the help of these easily conceiv'd. Most are of stone, as the lesser ones are of glass, and others of earth bak'd extremely hard. The two last kinds were ornaments or magical gems, as were also those of chrystal and agat, either perfectly spherical, or in the figure of a lentill; or shap'd after any of the other ways, which shall be describ'd and portray'd in our book. The glass amulets or ornaments are in the Lowlands of Scotland, call'd *Adder-stanes*, and by the Welsh *Gleini na Droedh*, or Druid-glass, which is in Irish *Glaine nan Druidhe*, *Glaine* in this language signifying *Glass*, tho' obsolete now in the Welsh dia

* Τη δὲ πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας περὶ θεῶν γεγονέναι παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς Ἑλλήσι μυθοποιίας, ὡς ἀλλὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Μαγοῖς γεγενῆσιν, ἀλλὰ δὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Κέλτοισ, καὶ Λίβυσι, καὶ Φρυγί, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐθνεσιν. Cap. 87. Thus the manuscript very accurately; but the printed copy has τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι superfluously in the end, and wants Φρυξ, before, which is very essential.

lect, and preserv'd only in this *Gleini na Droedh*.
But the more massy monuments shall, in a day or
two, be the subject of another letter from,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

And very humble Servant.

June 25, 1718.

THE
SECOND LETTER,
TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
LORD VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

I. **P**ERMIT me at this time, (my lord) according to the promise with which I concluded my last, to send to your lordship *A specimen of the monuments relating to the Druids*, that are still extant, either intire or imperfect. I have ever indeavor'd to avoid deserving the blame, with which an approv'd author charges those, who, while very conversant in the history of other places, appear to be absolute strangers in their own country; and as I know no man better versed in foren affairs, or in our own, (which an able statesman will never separate) nor a greater master of antient or modern history than yourself; so I am apt to hope, that the collection of Brittish and Irish antiquities I here take the liberty to present to your lordship, may not prove altogether disagreeable. The French examples (a few excepted) I reserve for the larger work, and in the mean time I procede.

On the tops of mountains and other eminences in Ireland, in Wales, in Scotland, in the Scottish Islands and the Ile of Man, (where things have been least disorder'd or displac'd by the frequency of inhabitants, or want of better ground for cultivation) there are great heaps of stones, like the mercurial* heaps† of the Greeks, whereof when we treat of the Celtic Mercury in particular. The heaps, which make my present subject, consist of stones of all sorts, from one pound to a hundred. They are round in form, and somewhat tapering or diminishing upwards; but on the summit was always a flat stone, for a use we shall presently explain. These heaps are of all bignesses, some of 'em containing at least a hundred cartload of stones; and if any of 'em be grown over with earth, 'tis purely accidental in the long course of time wherein they have been neglected; for no such thing was intended in the first making of them, as in the sepulchral barrows of the Gothic nations, which are generally of earth. Such a heap is in the antient Celtic language, and in every dialect of it, call'd *Carn*, and every carn so dispos'd, as to be in sight of some other. Yet they are very different from the rude and much smaller pyramids, which the old Irish erect along the roads in memory of the dead, by them call'd *Leachda*, and

* Προσκαρπευουσι δε τους λιθους της 'Ερμαις εκατος των κατοικων; ενα τινα αυτους ποταμους, &c. Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. cap. 16.

† 'Ερμαιν, i. e. Acervi Mercuriales.

made of the first stones that offer. From the devotional rounds perform'd about the cairns in times of heathenism, and which, as we shall see anon, are yet continu'd in many places of the Scottish Highlands and the Hebrides, any circle, or turning about, is in Armoric call'd *cern**, as *cerna* in that dialect is to make such a turn. On the cairn call'd *Crig-y-dyrn*, in the parish of Tre'lech in Caermarthenshire, the flat stone on the top is three yards in length, five foot over, and from ten to twelve inches thick. The circumference of this cairn at the bottom is about sixty yards, and 'tis about six yards high; the ascent being very easy, tho' I suppose there was originally a ladder for this purpose.

II. Let this cairn serve for an example of the rest, as to their form and bulk; only we may take notice here by the way, what odd imaginations men are apt to have of things they do not understand. Thus Mr. William Sacheverell, governor of the Ile of Man under the right honorable the earl of Derby, in part of King William's reign, mistaking these cairns† in his description of that island, "The tops of the mountains (says he) seem nothing but the rubbish of nature, thrown into barren and unfruitful heaps, as near two thirds of the island are of this sort. Some seem particularly worthy our remark, as the two *Barowls*, *Skeyall*, the watch-

* C is pronounc'd as K.

† Page 13.

hill of *Knock-a-low*: but particularly *Sneafeld*, where it is not unpleasant (continues he) when the weather is clear and serene, to see three noble nations surrounding one of the most obscure in the universe: which is, as it were, the center of the Brittish empire." These heaps our author thought the work of chance, tho' artfully contriv'd in all the Celtic countries; as Dr. Martin thought a cairn in the ile of Saint Kilda, whereof presently, to be a signal effect of Providence: But as for the Mannian nation (which is visibly the center of the Brittish world) it is very undeservedly become obscure, whether we consider what has been transacted in former ages, it having been the theater of many surprizing revclutions: or the particular usages in religious and civil affairs, that even now obtain there, especially their laws, which still continue mostly unwritten (for which reason they call 'em *Breast-laws*) being without expense or delay, and undoubted remains of the justice of the Druids. For, wherever they were not themselves a party, neither the Egyptians, nor Persians, nor Greecs, nor Romans, did surpass the wisdom, equity, and strictness of the Druids in the sanction or execution of their laws; which made all sorts of men leave their controversies of every kind to their determination, without any further appeal. Nor without some regard in fact, and a vast deal more in profession, to moral virtue, could any set of impostors in any country possibly support their false

doctrines and superstitious observances; which receive credit from hence, as the teachers of 'em do all their power and authority, in proportion to the austerities they practise, or the appearances they have of devotion. I say appearances, because this in most, join'd to real self-denial in a few (who by the rest are deem'd silly tho' useful creatures) will long uphold an institution both erroneous and tyrannical: which is the reason that, to this hour, the memory of the Druids is highly venerable among those of the Ile of Man; and that their laws are infinitely preferr'd to all others by the Manksmen, who say the family of Derby comes nearest their excellence of any race of men now in the world. Wherefore, as well in these regards, as in many others essential to my design, I shall, in the body of the history, give a true idea of the past and present customs of this antient, tho' mixt people. Their numerous cairns, of whose origin anon, are not the onely monuments they have of the Druids. But that the chief college of these philosophers was ever establish'd there, and much less any such college appointed by the kings of Scotland (as Hector Boethius feign'd) I shall demonstrate to be pure romance: and at the same time will not fail doing justice to the memory of the great hero and legislator of the iland, Manannan; reported, after the manner of those ages, to have been the son of Lear*, or the god of the

* Manannan mhac Leir.

sea, from his extraordinary skill in navigation and commerce. He was truly the son of Alladius*, who was of royal blood, and his own name Orbsen; but call'd Manannan from his country, and kill'd by one Ullin near Galway, in Ireland: of all which the particulars will be given in their proper place, especially the republic of Manannan; who, from his instruction by the Druids, was reputed a consummate magician, and was indeed most happy in stratagems of war both by land and sea. Mr. Sacheverell, except in affirming Manannan (whom he misnames Mannan) to have been *the father, founder, and legislator of the island*†, is out in every thing he says concerning him: for, instead of living about the beginning of the fifth century, he liv'd as many centuries before Christ; and so cou'd not be contemporary with Patric, the apostle of Man as well as Ireland. Neither was Manannan the son of a king of Ulster, nor yet the brother of Fergus II‡, king of Scotland: and as for his not being able to get any information what became of him, I have already told that he was kill'd in Ireland, and by whom.

III. In process of time the cairns, to which we now return, serv'd every where for beacons, as many of them as stood conveniently for this purpose: but they were originally design'd, as we are now going to see, for fires of another nature. The fact stood thus. On May-eve the Druids made

* Allaid.

† Page 20.

‡ Ibid.

prodigious fires on those cars, which being every one (as we said) in sight of some other, cou'd not but afford a glorious show over a whole nation. These fires were in honour of Beal or Béalan, latiniz'd by the Roman authors into Belenus*, by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the Sun: and, therefore, to this hour the first day of May is by the aboriginal Irish call'd *La Bealteine*, or *the day of Belen's fire* †. I remember one of those cars on Fawn-hill within some miles of Londonderry, known by no other name but that of *Bealteine*, facing another such car on the top of Inch-hill: and Gregory of Tours, in his book *de Gloria Confessorum*, mentions a hill‡ of the same name§ between Artom and Riom in Auvergne in France, from which Riom might be fairly view'd. But tho' later writers affirm with Valesius, in his *Galliarum notitia*, this hill to be now unknown; yet *Belen's* heap on the top of it, is a sure mark whereby to discover it. His circular temple, as we shall see hereafter, is still there, (if not the car) having certainly existed in Gregory's time. Abundance of such heaps remain still on the mountains in France, and on the Alps.

* Herodian. Auson. Capitolin. Tertul. &c. Videantur etiam Gruter. et Reines. in *inscriptionibus*.

† Etiam *Bealltaine*, & antiquitus *Beltine*.

‡ Cum [*ex Artonensi vico*] venisset in cacumen montis Belenatensis, de quo vici Ricomagensis positio contemplatur, vidit has, &c. *De Gloria Confessor*, cap. 5.

§ *Mons Belenatensis*.

Those writers, however, are not to be blam'd, as being strangers to the origin or use of such heaps; and not able to distinguish them from certain other heaps, under which robbers and traitors were bury'd. These last are call'd in general by the Welsh *Carn-Vraduyr* and *Carn-Lhadron**; or particularly after the proper names of the underlying criminals, as *Carnedh-Leúelyn*, *Carnedh-David*, and such like. As far from Auvergne as the island of Saint Kilda, in the 58th degree of northern latitude, there is another hill denominated from Belenus (which more consonant to the Celtic idiom Herodian† writes *Belin*) corruptly call'd *Otter-Veaul*‡, or *Belen's heigth*; on which is a vast heap, whereof Doctor Martin, in his account of that island, did not know the use, as I said before§: but the carn being on the hill just above the landing place, he thinks it so order'd by providence; that by rousing down these stones, the inhabitants might prevent any body's coming ashore against their will. In the church of Birsá (near which stands a very remarkable obelisc) at the west end of the island call'd Pomona, or the mainland, in Orkney, there is an erect stone, with the word *Belus* inscrib'd on it in antient characters. Yet whether this be any remembrance of *Belenus* (better according to the Irish idiom *Belus*) or be the

* *Traitor and thieves carn*: in Irish *Carn-bhrateoir* & *Carn an Ladroin*.

† Lib. 8. cap. 7.

‡ *Uachdar Bheil*.

§ Page 112.

monument of a native prince so call'd, I shall not here decide. The fact itself is told us by Mr. Brand*, in his *description of Orkney and Zetland*. I wish he had also told us, of what kind those ancient characters are, or that he had exactly copy'd them: and if there be a man's portraiture on the stone, as Dr. Martin affirms†, the dress and posture will go a great way towards clearing the matter.

IV. But to make no longer digression, May-day is likewise call'd *La Bealteine* by the Highlanders of Scotland, who are no contemptible part of the Celtic offspring. So it is in the Ile of Man; and in Armoric a priest is still call'd *Belec*, or the servant of Bel, and priesthood *Belegieth*. Two such fires, as we have mention'd, were kindl'd by one another on May-eve in every village of the nation (as well thro'out all Gaule, as in Britain, Ireland, and the adjoining lesser Ilands), between which fires the men and the beasts to be sacrific'd were to pass; from whence came the proverb, *between Bel's two fires*‡, meaning one in a great strait, not knowing how to extricate himself. One of the fires was on the carn, another on the ground. On the eve of the first day of November§, there were also such fires kindl'd, accompany'd (as they constantly were) with sacrifices and feasting. These November fires were in Ireland call'd *Tine tlach'd*.

* Page 14. † Page 358. ‡ *Ittir dhatheine Bheil*. § *Samhhuin*.

gha, from *tlach'd-gha**, a place hence so call'd in Meath, where the Archdruid of the realm had his fire on the said eve; and for which piece of ground, because originally belonging to Munster, but appointed by the supreme monarch for this use, there was an annual acknowledgement (call'd *sgreaboll*) paid to the king of that province. But that all the Druids of Ireland assembl'd there on the first of November, as several authors injudiciously write, is not only a thing improbable, but also false in fact; nor were they otherwise there at that time, nor all at any time together in one place, but as now all the clergy of England are said to be present in their convocations—that is, by their representatives and delegates. Thus Cesar is likewise to be understood, when, after speaking of the Archdruid of Gaule, he says that *the Druids*†, *at a certain time of the year, assembl'd in a consecrated grove in the country of the Carnutes*‡, *which is reckon'd the middle region of all Gaule*. But of these assemblies in their place. On the foresaid eve all the people of the country, out of a religious persuasion instill'd into them by the Druids, extinguish'd their fires as intirely as the Jews are wont to sweep their houses the night

* *Fire-ground*.

† *li* [*Druides*] certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur, considunt in luco consecrato. *De bello Gallico*, lib. 6. cap. 13.

‡ Now *le Pais Chartrain*, the place *Dreux*.

before *the feast of unleavened bread*. Then every master of a family was religiously oblig'd to take a portion of the consecrated fire home, and to kindle the fire a-new in his house, which for the ensuing year was to be lucky and prosperous. He was to pay, however, for his future happiness, whether the event prov'd answerable or not; and tho' his house shou'd be afterwards burnt, yet he must deem it the punishment of some new sin, or ascribe it to any thing, rather than to want of virtue in the consecration of the fire, or of validity in the benediction of the Druid, who, from officiating at the cars, was likewise call'd *Cairneach**, a name that continu'd to signify a priest, even in the christian times. But if any man had not clear'd with the Druids for the last year's dues, he was neither to have a spark of this holy fire from the cars, nor durst any of his neighbors let him take the benefit of theirs, under pain of excommunication, which, as manag'd by the Druids, was worse than death. If he wou'd brew, therefore, or bake, or roast, or boil, or warm himself and family; in a word, if he wou'd live the winter out, the Druids dues must be paid by the last of October, so that this trick alone was more effectual than are all the acts of parliament made for recovering our pre-

* This is the true origin of the word *cairneach*, as signifying a priest; but not deriv'd, as men ignorant of antiquity fancy, from *coroineach*, alluding to the crown-form'd tonsure of the Monks, not near so old as this word.

sent clergy's dues; which acts are so many and so frequent, that the bare enumeration of them would make an indifferent volum. Wherefore I cannot but admire the address of the Druids, in fixing this ceremony of rekindling family-fires to the beginning of November, rather than to May or midsummer, when there was an equal opportunity for it.

V. A world of places* are denominated from those cars of all sorts, as in Wales *Carn-Llech-art*, *Carn-Lhaid*; in Scotland *Carn-wath*, *Carn-tulloch*, *Drum-cairn*, *Glen-cairn*; in Ireland *Carn-mail*, *Carn-aret*, *Carnan-tagher*, *Carnan-tober*†; and in Northumberland, as in other parts of the north of England, they are sometimes call'd *Laws* or *Lows*, a name they also give the Gothic barrows. The Lowland Scots call 'em in the plural number *Cairns*, whence several lordships are nam'd, as one in Lennox, another in Galloway (to mention no more) from which the surname of Cairns. The family of Carne, in Wales, is from the like original: but not, as some have thought, the O Kearnys‡ of Ireland; one of which, Mr. John Kearny, treasurer of Saint Patric's in Dublin, was very instrumental in getting the *New Testament* translated into Irish, about the end of the last century but one. As to this fire-worship, which

* The places are numberless in all these countries. † *Carnan* is the diminutive of *Carn*. ‡ *O Cearnaigh*, besides *O Ceathur-naigh*.

(by the way) prevail'd over all the world, the Celtic nations kindled other fires on midsummer eve, which are still continu'd by the Roman Catholics of Ireland; making them in all their grounds, and carrying flaming brands about their corn-fields. This they do likewise all over France, and in some of the Scottish iles. These midsummer fires and sacrifices, were to obtain a blessing on the fruits of the earth, now becoming ready for gathering; as those of the first of May, that they might prosperously grow: and those of the last of October, were a thanksgiving for finishing their harvest. But in all of 'em regard was also had to the several degrees of increase and decrease in the heat of the sun; as in treating of their astronomy, and manner of reckoning time, we shall clearly show. Their other festivals with their peculiar observations, shall be likewise explain'd each in their proper sections; especially that of New-year's day, or the tenth of March (their fourth grand festival) which was none of the least solemn; and which was the day of seeking, cutting, and consecrating their wonder-working, *All-heal*, or misselto of oak. This is the ceremony to which Virgil alludes by his *golden-branch*, in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, for which there is incontestable proof, which we shall give in a section on this subject. 'Tis Pliny who says, that the Druids call'd it, in their language, by a word signifying *All-*

*heal**; which word in the Armorican dialect is *oll-yach*; in the Welsh *ol-hiach*, and in the Irish *uil-iceach*. Here, by the way, we may observe, that as the Greeks had many words from the barbarians, for which Plato in his *Cratylus*†, judges it would be lost labor to seek etymologies in their own language: so it is remarkable, that certain feasts of Apollo were call'd *Carnea*‡, from the killing of nobody knows what Prophet Carnus. Some said that he was the son of Jupiter and Europa, kill'd for a magician by one Ales: and others yet, that Carni was a common name for an order of prophets in Arcanania. Apollo himself was surnamed Carnus§; and, from him, May was call'd the *Carnean month*. Nay, there were *Carnean priests*, and a particular kind of music, which we may interpret the *Cairn-tunes*, was appropriated to those festivals in May, perfectly answering those of the Celtic tribes. It is therefore highly probable, that the Greeks did learn these things from the Gauls their conquerors, and in many places seated among them; or from some of their travellers in Gaule itself, if not from the Phocæan colony at Marseilles. We know further, that the making of hymns was a special part of the bards office; who

* Omnia-sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, &c. *Lib. 16. cap. 44.*

† Εἰ τις ζητοῖ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν φωνήν, ὡς εἰκοτὸς κοῖται; ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' εἰσὶν, ἐξ ἧς τὸ ὄνομα τυγχάνει ἐν, οἷσθα ἐπὶ ἀπορίας. *Inter opera, edit. Paris. vol. 1. pag. 409.*

‡ Τα κάρια.

§ Καρνεῖος μῆν.

by Strabo, are expressly term'd *hymn-makers**: and I show'd before, that the antient Greeks (by their own confession) learnt part of their philosophy, and many of their sacred fables, from the Gauls. So that this criticism is not so void of probability, as many which pass current enough in the world. However, I fairly profess to give it only for a conjecture; which I think preferable to the farr-fetcht and discordant accounts of the Greeks; who, in spite of Plato and good sense, wou'd needs be fishing for the origin of every thing in their own language. In the mean time it is not unworthy our remark, that as prizes† were adjudg'd to the victors in this *Carnéan* music among the Greeks: so the distributing of prizes to the most successful poets, was not less usual among the Gauls and their colonies; whereof there is undeniable proof in the Brittish and Irish histories, as will be seen in our section concerning the *Bards*.

VI. Another criticism relating immediately to Apollo (for which I think this a proper place) I give as something more than a conjecture. In the lordship of Merchiston, near Edinburgh, was formerly dug up a stone with an inscription to Apollo Grannus; concerning which Sir James Dalrymple baronet, in his second edition of *Cambden's description of Scotland*, thus expresses himself after

* Τῦμνται.

† Τιμοδορος—τα Καρτεία αγωνιζομενος. Plutarch. in *Apophthegm.*

his author*. “Who this Apollo Grannus might be, and whence he should have his name, not one (to my knowledge) of our grave senate of antiquaries hitherto cou’d ever tell. But if I might be allow’d, from out of the lowest bench, to speak what I think; I would say that Apollo Grannus, among the Romans, was the same that Apollon Akersekomes†, that is Apollo with long hair, among the Greeks: for Isidore calls the long hair of the Goths Grannos.” This consequence will by no means hold: for what are the Goths to the Romans, who exprest this Greec by *intonsus* Apollo? And since Goths speaking Latin had as little to do in the shire of Lothian, it will not be doubted, but that it was some Roman who paid this vow; as soon as ’tis known, that, besides the man’s name Quintus Lusius Sabinianus, *Grian*, among the many Celtic names of the *sun* ‡, was one, being

* This passage in Cambden is in the 897th page of Churchill’s edition, anno 1695.

† Απολλων ακερσεκομης: item Ακερσεκομης.

* Besides the sun’s religious attribute of Bel, Beal, Belin, or Belenus, it is call’d *Hayl* in Welsh, *Houl* in Cornish, *Hcol* in Armoric; in all which the aspirate *h* is put for *s*, as in a world of such other words: for any word beginning with *s* in the antient Celtic, does in the oblique cases begin with *h*. Yet *s* is still retained in the Armoric *Disul*, in the Cambrian *Dydhysc*, and the Cornubian *Dezil*; that is to say, *Sunday*. It was formerly *Diasoil* in Irish, whence still remain *Solus* light, *Soillse* clearness, *Soillseach* bright or sunny, *Solleir* manifest, and several more such. ’Tis now call’d *Dia Domhnaigh*, or *Dies Dominicus*, according to the general use of all christians.

the common name of it still in Irish: and that, from his beams, *Greannach* in the same language signifies *long-hair'd*, which is a natural epithet of the sun in all nations. There is no need therefore of going for a Gothic derivation to Isidore, in whom now I read Scots instead of Goths; and not, as I fancy, without very good reason. It wou'd be superfluous to produce instances (the thing is so common) to show that the Romans, to their own names of the Gods, added the names or attributes under which they were invoc'd in the country, where they happen'd on any occasion to sojourn. Nor was this manner of topical worship unknown to the antient Hebrews, who are forbid to follow it by Moses in these words: "Enquire not after their Gods, saying, how did these nations serve their Gods? even so will I do likewise*." *Grian* therefore and *Greannach* explain the Lothian† inscription very naturally, in the antient language of the Scots themselves (spoken still in the Highlands

* Deut. 12. 80.

† This inscription, as given us by Camden from Sir Peter Young, preceptor to King James VI. (for the Laird of Merchiston's *Exposition of the Apocalyps* I never saw) runs thus :

APOLLINI
GRANNO
Q. LUSIUS
SABINIA
NUS
PROC*
AUG*

V. S. S. L. V. M.*

* Procurator.

* Augusti.

* Votum susceptum solvit
lubens merito.

and Western Isles, as well as in Ireland) without any need of having recourse to Gothland, or other foren countries.

VII. To return to our carn-fires, it was customary for the lord of the place, or his son, or some other person of distinction, to take the entrails of the sacrific'd animal in his hands, and walking barefoot over the coals thrice, after the flames had ceas'd, to carry them strait to the Druid, who waited in a whole skin at the altar. If the nobleman escap'd harmless, it was reckon'd a good omen, welcom'd with loud acclamations: but if he receiv'd any hurt, it was deem'd unlucky both to the community and to himself. Thus I have seen the people running and leaping thro' the St. John's fires in Ireland, and not onely proud of passing unsing'd: but, as if it were some kind of lustration, thinking themselves in a special manner blest by this ceremony, of whose original nevertheless they were wholly ignorant in their imperfect imitation of it. Yet without being appriz'd of all this, no reader, however otherwise learned, can truly apprehend the beginning of the Consul Flaminius's speech to Equanus the Sabin, at the battle of Thrasimenus, thus intelligently related by Silius Italicus*.

* *Tum Soracte satum, præstantem corpore et armis,
Æquanium noscens; patrio cui ritus in arvo,
Dum pius Arcitenens incensis gaudet Acervis,
Extæ ter innocuos latè portare per ignes:*

Then seeing Equanus, near Soracte born,
 In person, as in arms, the comelyest youth :
 Whose country manner 'tis, when th' archer keen
 Divine Apollo joys in burning Heaps,
 The sacred entrals thro' the fire unhurt
 To carry thrice : so may you always tread,
 With unscorch'd feet, the consecrated coals ;
 And o'er the heat victorious, swiftly bear
 The solemn gifts to pleas'd Apollo's altar.

Now let all the commentators on this writer be consulted, and then it will appear what sad guess-work they have made about this passage; which is no less true of an infinite number of passages in other authors relating to such customs: for a very considerable part of Italy follow'd most of the Druidical rites, as the inhabitants of such places happen'd to be of Gallic extraction, which was the case of many Cantons in that delicious country. But this is particularly true of the Umbrians and Sabins, who are by all authors made the antientest* people of Italy, before the coming thither of any Grecian colonies. But they are by Solinus† from the historian Bocchus, by Servius‡

Sic in Apollinea semper vestigia prona
 Inviolata teras : victorque vaporis, ad aras
 Dona serenato referas Solennia Phœbo.

Lib. 5. ver. 175.

* Dionys. Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 3. cap. 14. Flor. lib. 1. cap. 17, &c.

† Bocchus absolvit Gallorum veterum propaginem Umbros esse. *Polyhist. cap. 8.*

‡ Sanè Umbros Gallorum veterum propaginem esse, Marcus Antonius refert. *In lib. 12. Æneid. ante fin.*

from the elder Marc Antony, by Isidore* also and Tzetzes†, in direct terms stil'd *the issue of the ancient Gauls*, or a branch of them: and Dionysius Halicarnasseus, the most judicious of antiquaries, proves out of Zenodotus, that the Sabins were descendants of the Umbrians; or, as he expresses it, *Umbrians under the name of Sabins*‡. The reason I am so particular on this head, is, that the mountain Soracte§ is in the Sabin country, in the district of the Faliscans about 20 miles to the north of Rome, and on the west side of the Tyber. On the top of it were the grove and temple of Apollo, and also his carn||, to which Silius, in the verses just quoted out of him alludes. Pliny has preserv'd to us the very¶ name of the particular race of people, to which the performing of the above describ'd annual ceremony belong'd: nor was it for nothing that they ran the risk of blistering their soles, since *for this they were exented from*

* Umbri Italiæ gens est, sed Gallorum veterum propago. *Origin. lib. 9. cap. 2.*

† Ομβροί γένος Γαλατικόν η Γαλατών. Schol. in Lycophron. *Alex. ad ver.* 1360.

‡ Ζαβινεύς ἐξ Ομβρικόν. *Antiq. Rom. lib. 1.*

§ Now *Monte di San sylvestro*.

|| *Acervus*.

¶ Haud procul urbe Româ, in Faliscorum agro familiæ sunt paucæ, quæ vocantur Hirpiæ; quæque sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soracte Apollini, super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes, non aduruntur: et ob id perpetuo senatus consulto militiæ, aliorumque munerum, vacationem habent. *Hist. Nat. lib. 2. cap. 2.* Idem ex eodem *Solin, Polyhist. cap. 8.*

serving in the wars, as well as from the expense and trouble of several offices. They were called Hirpins. Virgil, much elder than Silius or Pliny, introduces Aruns, one of that family, forming a design to kill Camilla, and thus praying for success to Apollo.

O patron of Soracte's high abodes,
Phebus, the ruling pow'r among the Gods!
Whom first we serve, whole woods of uoctuous pine
Burnt on thy heap, and to thy glory shine:
By thee protected, with our naked soles
Thro' flames unsing'd we pass, and tread the kindl'd coals.
Give me, propitious pow'r, to wash away
The stains of this dishonorable day*.

Dryden's version.

A Celtic antiquary, ignorant of the origin of the Umbrians and Sabins, wou'd imagine, when reading what past on Soracte, that it was some Gallic, Brittish, or Irish mountain, the rites being absolutely the same. We do not read indeed in our Irish books, what preservative against fire was us'd by those, who ran barefoot over the burning coals of the cars: and, to be sure, they wou'd have the common people piously believe they us'd none. Yet that they really did, no less than the famous fire-eater, whom I lately saw making so great a

* Summe Deûm, sancti custos Soractis, Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor *Acervo*
Pascitur; et medium, freti pietate, per ignem
Cultores multâ premimus vestigia prunâ:
Da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis.

Aen. lib. 11. ver. 785.

figure at London, men of penetration and uncorrupted judgements will never question. But we are not merely left to our judgements, for the fact is sufficiently arrested by that prodigy of knowledge, and *perpetual opposer of superstition*, *Marcus Varro*; who, as Servius on the above-cited passage of Virgil affirms*, *describ'd the very ointment of which the Hirpins made use, besmearing their feet with it, when they walk'd thro' the fire.* Thus at all times have the multitude (that common prey of priest and princes) been easily gull'd; swallowing secrets of natural philosophy for divine miracles, and ready to do the greatest good or hurt, not under the notions of vice or virtue; but barely as directed by men, who find it their interest to deceive them.

VIII. But leaving the Druids for a while, there are over and above the cairns, in the highlands of Scotland and in the adjacent isles numberless Obelisks, or stones set up an end; some 30, some 24 foot high, others higher or lower: and this sometimes where no such stones are to be dug, Wales being likewise full of them; and some there are in the least cultivated parts of England, with very many in Ireland. In most places of this last kingdom, the common people believe these Obelisks to

* Sed Varro, ubique Religionis expugnator, ait, cùm quoddam medicamentum describeret, eo uti solent HIRPINI, qui ambulaturi per ignem, medicamento Plantas tingunt. Ad ver. 787. lib. 11. *Aeneid*.

be men, transform'd into stones by the magic of the Druids. This is also the notion the vulgar have in Oxfordshire of *Rollwright stones*, and in Cornwall of the *hurlers*; erect stones so call'd, but belonging to a different class from the Obelisks, whereof I now discourse. And indeed in every country the ignorant people ascribe to the devil or some supernatural power, at least to giants, all works which seem to them to exceed human art or ability. Thus among other things (for recording their traditions will have its pleasure as well as usefulness) they account for the Roman camps and military ways, calling such the *devil's dykes*, or the like: while the more reasonable part are persuaded, that the erect stones of which we speak, are the monuments of dead persons, whose ashes or bones are often found near them; sometimes in urns, and sometimes in stone-coffins, wherein scales, hammers, pieces of weapons, and other things have been often found, some of them very finely gilt or polish'd. Dogs also have been found bury'd with their masters. The erect stones in the midst of stone-circles (whereof before I have done) are not of this funeral sort; nor does it follow, that all those have been erected in christian times, which have christian inscriptions or crosses on them: for we read of many such Obelisks thus sanctify'd, as they speak, in Wales and Scotland. And, in our Irish histories, we find the practice as early as Patric himself; who, having built the church of Donach-

Patric on the brink of Loch-Hacket* in the county of Clare, did there on three colosses, erected in the times of Paganism, inscribe the proper name of Christ in three languages: namely, Jesus in Hebrew on the first, Soter in Grec on the second, and Salvator in Latin on the third. That Obelisc (if I may call it so) in the parish of Barvas in the iland of Lewis in Scotland, call'd the *Thrushel-stone*, is very remarkable; being not onely above 20 foot high, which is yet surpass'd by many others: but likewise almost as much in breadth, which no other comes near.

IX. Besides these Obeliscs, there is a great number of Forts in all the iles of Scotland, very different from the Danish and Norwegian raths in Ireland, or the Saxon and Danish burghs in England: nor are they the same with the Gallic, British, and Irish *Lios*, pronounc'd *Lis*†; which are fortifications made of unwrought stones and uncemented, whereof there are two very extraordinary in the iles of Aran, in the bay of Galway in Ireland. *Dún* is a general Celtic word for all fortifications made on an eminence, and the eminences themselves are so call'd; as we see in many parts of England, and the sand-hills on the Belgic coast. Yet *Rath* and *Lis* are often confounded together, both in the speech and writing of the Irish. But

* Formerly *Domhnach-mor* and *Loch-sealga*.

† *Lios* in Irish, *Les* in Armoric, and *Lhys* in Welsh, signifies in English a *Court*; as *Lis-Luin*, *Lynscourt*.

the forts in question are all of wrought stone, and often of such large stones, as no number of men cou'd ever raise to the places they occupy, without the use of engines; which engines are quite unknown to the present inhabitants, and to their ancestors for many ages past. There's none of the lesser iles, but has one fort at least, and they are commonly in sight of each other: but the *Dún* in St. Kilda (for so they call the old fort there) is about 18 leagues distant from North Uist, and 20 from the middle of Lewis or Harries, to be seen only in a very fair day like a blewish mist: but a large fire there wou'd be visible at night, as the ascending smoak by day. In this same Ile of Lewis (where are many such *Dúns*) there's north of the village of Brago, a round fort compos'd of huge stones, and three stories high: that is, it has three hollow passages one over another, within a prodigious thick wall quite round the fort, with many windows and stairs. I give this onely as an example from Dr. Martin, an eye-witness, who, with several others, mention many more such elsewhere: yet (which is a great neglect) without acquainting us with their dimensions, whether those passages in the wall be arch'd, or with many such things relating to the nature of the work; and omitting certain other circumstances, no less necessary to be known. I mention these forts, my lord, not as any way, that I yet know, appertaining to the Druids: but, in treating of the mo-

numents truly theirs, I take this natural occasion of communicating, what may be worthy of your lordship's curiosity and consideration; especially when, like Episodes in a poem, they serve to relieve the attention, and are not very foren to the subject. Considering all things, I judge no monuments more deserving our researches; especially, if any shou'd prove them to be Phenician or Massilian places of security for their commerce: since 'tis certain that both people have traded there, and that Pytheas of Marseilles (as we are inform'd by Strabo) made a particular description of those ilands; to which Cesar, among other descriptions, without naming the authors, does doubtless refer*. But my own opinion I think fit at present to reserve.

X. From the conjectures I have about these numerous and costly forts, in ilands so remote and barren, I pass the certainty I have concerning *the temples of the Druids*, whereof so many are yet intire in those ilands, as well as in Wales and Ireland; with some left in England, where culture has mostly destroy'd or impair'd such monuments. These temples are *circles of Obeliscs* or erect stones, some larger, some narrower, (as in all other edifi-

* In hoc medio cursu [*inter Hiberniam scilicet & Britanniam*] est insula, quae appellatur *Mona*. Complures praeterea minores objectae insulae existimantur, de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, dies continuos 30 sub bruma esse noctem. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 5.*

ces) some more and some less magnificent. They are for the greatest part perfectly circular, but some of them semicircular: in others the obelisks stand close together, but in most separate and equidistant. I am not ignorant that several, with Dr. Charlton in his *Stone-henge restor'd to the Danes*, believe those circles to be Danish works; a notion I shall easily confute in due time, and even now as I go along. But few have imagin'd 'em to be Roman, as the famous architect Inigo Jones wou'd needs have this same *Stone-henge* (according to me one of the Druid cathedrals) to be the temple of Celum or Terminus, in his *Stone-henge restor'd to the Romans*. Nevertheless, my lord, I promise you no less than demonstration, that those circles were Druids temples; against which assertion their frequenting of oaks, and performing no religious rites without oak-branches or leaves, will prove no valid exception; no more than such circles being found in the Gothic countries, tho' without *altars*, whereof we shall speak after the temples. The outside of the churches in Spain and Holland is much the same, but their inside differs extremely. As for Inigo Jones, he cannot be too much commended for his generous efforts (which shows an uncommon genius) to introduce a better taste of architecture into England, where 'tis still so difficult a thing to get rid of Gothic oddnesses; and therefore 'tis no wonder he shou'd continue famous, when so few endeavour

to excede him: but we must beg his pardon, if, as he was unacquainted with history, and wanted certain other qualifications, we take the freedom in our book to correct his mistakes.

XI. In the iland of Lewis before-mention'd, at the village of Classerniss, there is one of those temples extremely remarkable. The circle consists of 12 obelises, about 7 foot high each, and distant from each other six foot. In the center stands a stone 13 foot high, in the perfect shape of the rudder of a ship. Directly south from the circle, there stands four obelises running out in a line; as another such line due east, and a third to the west, the number and distances of the stones being in these wings the same: so that this temple, the most intire that can be, is at the same time both round and wing'd. But to the north there reach by way of avenue) two straight ranges of obelises, of the same bigness and distances with those of the circle; yet the ranges themselves are 8 foot distant, and each consisting of 19 stones, the 39th being in the entrance of the avenue. This temple stands astronomically, denoting the 12 signs of the Zodiac and the four principal winds, subdivided each into four others; by which, and the 19 stones on each side of the avenue betokening the cycle of 19 years, I can prove it to have been dedicated principally to the sun; but subordinately to the seasons and the elements, particularly to the sea and the winds, as appears by the

rudder in the middle. The sea, consider'd as a divinity, was by the ancient Gauls call'd Anvana or Onvana, as the raging sea is still call'd Anafa in so many letters by the Irish*; and both of 'em, besides that they were very good astronomers, are known to have paid honor not only to the sea, but also to the winds and the tempests, as the Romans† were wont to do. But of this in the account of their worship. I forgot to tell you, that there is another temple about a quarter of a mile from the former; and that commonly two temples stand near each other, for reasons you will see in our history. East of Drumcruy in the Scottish Ile of Aran, is a circular temple, whose area is about 30 paces over: and south of the same village is such another temple, in the center of which still remains the altar; being a broad thin stone, supported by three other such stones. This is very extraordinary, tho' (as you may see in my last letter) not the onely example; since the zeal of the christians sometimes apt to be over-heated, us'd to leave no altars standing but their own. In the

* They vulgarly call the sea *mor* or *muir*, *mara*, *cuan*, *fairge*, &c.

† Sic fatus, meritos aris mactavit honores :

Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo ;

Nigram Hyemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.

Aen. lib. 3.

Videatur etiam Horatius, Epod. 10. ver. ult. Cic. de nat. Deor. lib. 3. Et Aristoph. in Ranis cum suo Scholiaste.

greatest iland of Orkney *, commonly call'd the Mainland, there are likewise two temples, where the natives believe by tradition, that the sun and moon were worshipt: which belief of theirs is very right, since the lesser temple is semicircular. The greater is 110 paces diameter. They know not what to make of two green mounts erected at the east and west end of it: a matter nevertheless for which it is not difficult to account. There's a trench or ditch round each of these temples, like that about Stonehenge; and, in short, every such temple had the like inclosure. Many of the stones are above 20 or 24 foot in height above the ground, about 5 foot in breadth, and a foot or two in thickness. Some of 'em are fallen down: and the temples are one on the east and the other on the west side of the lake of Stennis, where it is shallow and fordable, there being a passage over by large stepping stones. Near the lesser temple (which is on the east side of the lake, as the greater on the west) there stand two stones of the same bigness with the rest †; thro' the middle of one of which there is a large hole, by which criminals

* The Iles of Orkney are denominated from *Orcas* or *Orca*, which, in Diodorus Siculus and Ptolemy, is the ancient name of Caithness; and this from *Orc*, not a salmon (as by some interpreted) but a whale: so that in old Irish *Orc-i* is the Whale Islands. The words of Diodorus are, *Το δὲ ὑπολιπομεῖον [τῆς Βρετανίας] καλεῖται μὲν ἰσθμοῦσιν εἰς τὸ πηλαγόν, ὀνομαζέσθαι δὲ Ὀρκαν.* Lib. 4.

† Brand, pag. 44.

and victims were ty'd. Likewise in the iland of Papa-Westra, another of the Orkneys, there stand, near a lake (now call'd St. Tredwell's loch*) two such obelisks, in one of which there is the like hole: and behind them lying on the ground a third stone, being hollow like a trough.

XII. These few I only give for examples out of great numbers, as I likewise take the liberty to acquaint you (my lord) that at a place call'd Biscawoon, near Saint Burien's in Cornwall, there is a circular temple consisting of 19 stones, the distance between each 12 foot; and a twentieth in the center, much higher than the rest. But I am not yet inform'd, whether this middle stone has any peculiar figure, or whether inscrib'd with any characters; for such characters are found in Scotland, and some have been observ'd in Wales; but (except the Roman and Christian inscriptions) unintelligible to such as have hitherto seen them. Yet they ought to have been fairly represented, for the use of such as might have been able perhaps to explain them. They would at least exercise our antiquaries. The circle of *Rollrich-stones* in Oxfordshire, and the *Hurlers* in Cornwall, are two of those Druid temples. There is one at Aubury in Wiltshire, and some left in other places in England. In Gregory of Tours time there was remaining, and for ought I know may still be so, one of those temples on the top of *Be-*

* Brand, pag. 58.

len's mount between Arton and Riom in Auvergne. It was within this inclosure that Martin, the sainted bishop, stood taking a view* of the country, as before-mention'd. Now of such temples I shall mention here no more, but procede to the Druids altars, which, as I said before, do ordinarily consist of four stones; three being hard flags, or large tho' thin stōnes set up edgewise, two making the sides, and a shorter one the end, with a fourth stone of the same kind on the top: for the other end was commonly left open, and the altars were all oblong. Many of 'em are not intire. From some the upper stone is taken away, from others one of the side-stones or the end. And, besides the alterations that men have caus'd in all these kinds of monuments, time itself has chang'd 'em much more. Mr. Brand, speaking of the obeliscs in Orkney, "many of 'em (says he) appear to be much worn, by the washing of the wind and rain, which shows they are of a long standing: and it is very strange to think, how, in those places and times, they got such large stones carry'd and erected †." 'Tis naturally impossible, but that, in the course of so many ages, several stones must have lost their figure; their angles being expos'd to all weathers, and no care taken to repair any disorder, nor to prevent any abuse

* Extat nunc in hoc loco cancellus, in quo Sanctus dicitur stetisse. *Gregor. Turon. de Gloria Confessor. cap. 5.*

† Pag. 46.

of them. Thus some are become lower, or jagged, or otherwise irregular and diminish'd: many are quite wasted, and moss or scurf hides the inscriptions or sculptures of others; for such sculptures there are in several places, particularly in Wales and the Scottish ile of Aran. That one sort of stone lasts longer than another is true: but that all will have their period, no less than parchment and paper, is as true.

XIII. There are a great many of the altars to be seen yet intire in Wales, particularly two in Kerig Y Drudion parish mention'd in my other letter, and one in Lhan-Hammúlch parish in Brecknockshire; with abundance elsewhere, diligently observ'd by one I mention'd in my first letter, Mr. Edward Lhuyd, who yet was not certain to what use they were destin'd. Here I beg the favor of your lordship to take it for granted, that I have sufficient authorities for every thing I alledge: and tho' I do not always give them in this brief specimen, yet in the history itself, they shall be produc'd on every proper occasion. The Druids altars were commonly in the middle of the temples, near the great colossus, of which presently; as there is now such a one at Carn-Lhechart, in the parish of Lhan-Gyvelach, in Glamorganshire, besides that which I mention'd before in Scotland. They are by the Welsh in the singular number call'd *Kist-váen*, that is a stone-chest, and in the plural *Kistieu-váen*, stone-chests, These names,

with a small variation, are good Irish: but the things quite different from those real stone-chests or coffins (commonly of one block and the lid) that are in many places found under ground. The vulgar Irish call these altars *Dermot* and *Grania's bed**. This last was the daughter of King Cormac Ulfhada, and wife to Fin mac Cuil†; from whom, as invincible a general and champion as he's reported to have been, she took it in her head (as women will sometimes have such fancies) to run away with a nobleman, call'd Dermot O Duvny‡: but being pursu'd every where, the ignorant country people say, they were intertain'd a night in every quarter-land§, or village of Ireland; where the inhabitants sympathizing with their affections, and doing to others what they wou'd be done unto, made these beds both for their resting and hiding place. The poets, you may imagine, have not been wanting to imbellish this story: and hence it appears, that the Druids were planted as thick as parish priests, nay much thicker. Wherever there's a circle without an altar, 'tis certain there was one formerly; as altars are found where the circular obeliscs are mostly or all taken away for other uses, or out of aversion to this superstition, or that time has consum'd them. They, who, from the bones, which are often found near those altars and circles (tho' seldom within them) will

* *Leaba Dhiarmait agus Ghraine.* † *Finn mhac Cubhail.*

‡ *Diarmait O Duibhne.* § *Seisreach & Ccathramhach.*

needs infer, that they were burying places; forget what Cesar, Pliny, Tacitus, and other authors, write of the human sacrifices offer'd by the Druids: and, in mistaking the ashes found in the carns, they show themselves ignorant of those several anniversary fires and sacrifices, for which they were rear'd, as we have shown above. The huge coping stones of these carns were in the nature of altars, and altars of the lesser form are frequently found near them; as now in the great Latin and Greec churches, there are, besides the high altar, several smaller ones.

XIV. There's another kind of altar much bigger than either of these, consisting of a greater number of stones; some of 'em serving to support the others, by reason of their enormous bulk. These the Britons term *Cromlech* in the singular, *Cromlechu* in the plural number; and the Irish *Cromleach* or *Cromleac*, in the plural *Cromleacha* or *Cromleacca*. By these altars, as in the center of the circular temples, there commonly stands (or by accident lyes) a prodigious stone, which was to serve as a pedestal to some deity: for all these *Cromleachs* were places of worship, and so call'd from *bowing*, the word signifying the *bowing-stone**. The original designation of the idol *Crum-cruach* (whereof in the next section) may well be from *Cruim*, an equivalent word to *Tair-*

* From *crom* or *crum*, which, in Armoric, Irish, and Welsh, signifies *bent*; and *Lech* or *Leac*, a broad stone.

neach Taran or *Tarman*, all signifying thunder; whence the Romans call'd the Gallic Jupiter *Taramis* or *Taranis*, the thunderer: and from these *Cromleachs* it is, that in the oldest Irish a priest is call'd *Cruimthear*, and priesthood *Cruimtheacd*, which are so many evident vestiges of the Druidical religion*. There's a *Cromlech* in Nevern-parish in Pembroke-shire, where the middle stone is still 18 foot high, and 9 broad towards the base, growing narrower upwards. There lyes by it a piece broken of 10 foot long, which seems more than 20 oxen can draw: and therefore they were not void of all skill in the mechanics, who could set up the whole. But one remaining at Poitiers in France, supported by five lesser stones, exceeds all in the British ilands, as being sixty foot in circumference†. I fancy, however, that this was a *rocking-stone*: There's also a noble *Cromleach* at Bod-ouyr in Anglesey. Many of them, by a modest computation, are 30 tun weight: but they differ in bigness, as all pillars do, and their altars are ever bigger than the ordinary *Kistieu-vâen*. In some places of Wales these stones are call'd

* Of the same nature is *Cairneach*, of which before: for *Sagart*, the ordinary word for a priest, is manifestly formed from *Sacerdos*.

† La pierre levée de Poitiers a soixante pieds de tour, & elle est posée sur cinq autres pierres, sans qu'on sache non plus ni pourquoi, ni comment. Chevreau, *Memoires d'Angleterre*, page 380.

Meineu-gúyr, which is of the same import with *Cromlechu*. In Caithness and other remote parts of Scotland, these *Cromleacs* are very numerous, some pretty entire; and others, not so much consum'd by time or thrown down by storms, as disorder'd and demolish'd by the hands of men. But no such altars were ever found by Olaus Wormius, the great northern antiquary (which I desire the abettors of Dr. Charlton to note) nor by any others in the temples of the Gothic nations; as I term all who speak the several dialects of Gothic original, from Izeland to Switzerland, and from the Bril in Holland to Presburg in Hungary, the Bohemians and Polanders excepted. The Druids were onely co-extended with the Celtic dialects: besides that Cesar says expresly, there were no Druids among the Germans*, with whom he says as expresly that *seeing and feeling was believing* (honoring onely the sun, the fire, and the moon, *by which they were manifestly benefited*) and that they made no sacrifices at all: which, of course, made altars as useless there (tho' afterwards grown fashionable) as they were necessary in the Druids temples, and which they show more than probably to have been temples indeed;

* Germani——neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis præ-sint, neque sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum operibus aperte juvantur; Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam: reliquos ne famâ quidem acceperunt. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 6.*

nor are they call'd by any other name, or thought to have been any other thing, by the Highlanders or their Irish progenitors. In Jersey likewise, as well as in the other neighbouring ilands, formerly part of the dutchy of Normandy, there are many altars and *Cromlechs*. "There are yet remaining in this iland" (says Dr. Falle in the 115th page of his account of Jersey) "some old monuments of Paganism. We call them *Pouqueleys*. They are great flat stones, of vast bigness and weight; some oval, some quadrangular, rais'd 3 or 4 foot from the ground, and supported by others of a less size. 'Tis evident both from their figure, and great quantities of ashes found in the ground thereabouts, that they were us'd for altars in those times of superstition: and their standing on eminences near the sea, inclines me also to think, that they were dedicated to the divinities of the ocean. At ten or twelve foot distance there is a smaller stone set up at an end, in manner of a desk; where 'tis suppos'd the priest kneel'd, and perform'd some ceremonies, while the sacrifice was burning on the altar." Part of this account is mistaken, for the culture of the inland parts is the reason that few *Pouqueleys* are left, besides those on the barren rocks and hills on the sea side: nor is that situation alone sufficient for entitling them to the marine powers, there being proper marks to distinguish such wheresoever situated.

XV. But to return to our *Cromleachs*, the chief-

est in all Ireland was *Crum-cruach*, which stood in the midst of a circle of twelve obelisks on a hill in Brefin, a district of the county of Cavan, formerly belonging to Letrim. It was all over cover'd with gold and silver, the lesser figures on the twelve stones about it being onely of brass; which mettals, both of the stones and the statues that they bore, became every where the prey of the christian priests, upon the conversion of that kingdom. The legendary writers of *Patric's life* tell many things no less ridiculous than incredible, about the destruction of this temple of *Moyslect**, or the field of adoration, in Brefin; where the stumps of the circular obelisks are yet to be seen, and where they were noted by writers to have stood long before any Danish invasion, which shows how groundless Dr. Charlton's notion is. The bishop's see of Clogher had its name from one of those stones, all cover'd with gold (*Clochoir* signifying the golden stone) on which stood Kermant Kelstach, the chief idol of Ulster†. This stone is still in being. To note it here by the way, Sir James Ware was mistaken, when, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, he said Arcklow and Wicklow were foren names: whereas they are mere Irish, the first being *Ard-cloch*, and the second *Buidhe-cloch*, from high and yellow stones of this consecrated kind. 'Tis not to vindicate either the Celtic nations in general, or my own countrymen in

* *Magh-sléucht*.† *Mercurius Celticus*.

particular, for honoring of such stones, or for having stony symbols of the Deity; but to show they were neither more ignorant nor barbarous in this respect than the politest of nations, the Greeks and the Romans, that here I must make a short literary excursion. Wherefore, I beg your lordship to remember, that Kermant Kelstach was not the onely *Mercury* of rude stone, since the *Mercury* of the Greeks was not portray'd antiently in the shape of a youth, with wings to his heels and a caduceus in his hand; but *without hands or feet, being a square stone**, says Phurnutus, and I say without any sculpture. The reason given for it by the divines of those days, was, “that as the square figure betoken'd his solidity and stability; so he wanted neither hands nor feet to execute what he was commanded by *Jove*. Thus their merry-making *Bacchus* was figur'd among the Thebans by a pillar onely†. So the Arabians worship I know not what God (says Maximus Tyrius‡) and the statue that I saw of him, was a square stone.” I shall say nothing here of the oath of the Romans *per Jovem Lapidem*. But nobody pretends that the Gauls were more subtil theologues or philosophers, than the

* Πλαττεται δε και αχειρ, και απους, και τετραγωνος τω σχηματι, δ'Ερμης: τετραγωνος μεν, το εδραιον τε και ασφαλές εχειν—αχειρ δε και απους, επει ουτε ποδων ουτε χειρων δειται, οτις το ανειν το προκειμενον αυτω. *De Nat. Deor. cap. 16.*

† Στυλος θεβαιοισι Διονυσιος πολυκηθης. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 1.*

‡ Αραβιοι σεβουσι μεν οντινα δ'ευκ οίδα: το δε αγαλμα ο ειδεν λιθος ην τετραγωνος. *Serin. 33.*

Arabians, Greeks, or Romans; at least many are apt not to believe it of their Irish offspring: yet 'tis certain, that all those nations meant by these stones without statues, *the eternal stability and power of the Deity**; and that he cou'd not be represented by any similitude, nor under any figure whatsoever. For the numberless figures, which, notwithstanding this doctrine, they had (some of 'em very ingenious, and some very fantastical) were onely emblematical or enigmatical symbols of the divine attributes and operations, but not of the divine essence. Now as such symbols in different places were different, so they were often confounded together, and mistaken for each other. Nor do I doubt, but in this manner the numerous cairns in Gaule and Britain induc'd the Romans to believe, that Mercury was their chief God †, because among themselves he had such heaps, as I show'd above; whereas the Celtic heaps were all dedicated to *Belenus*, or the sun. The Roman historians in particular are often misled by likenesses, as has been already, and will not seldom again, be shown in our history; especially with regard to the Gods, said to have been worship'd by the Gauls. Thus some modern critics have forg'd new Gods, out of the sepulchral inscriptions of Gallic heroes. I shall say no more of such

* Το ανεκκλιτον του θεου και μονιμον. *Id. Ibid.*

† Deum maximè Mercurium colunt. Hujus sunt plurima simulacra, &c. *Cæs. de bello Gallico, lib. 6.*

pillars, but that many of them have a cavity on the top, capable to hold a pint, and sometimes more; with a channel or groove, about an inch deep, reaching from this hollow place to the ground, of the use whereof in due time.

XVI. Nor will I dwell longer here, than our subject requires, on the *Fatal Stone* so call'd, on which the supreme kings of Ireland us'd to be inaugurated in times of heathenism on the hill of* *Tarah*†; and which, being inclos'd in a wooden

* *Teamhuir*, or in the oblique cases *Teamhra*, whence corruptly *Taragh*, or *Tarah*.

† The true names of this stone are *Laiḡ-fail*, or *the fatal stone*, and *Cloch na cineamhna*, or *the stone of fortune*: both of them from a persuasion the antient Irish had, that, in what country soever this stone remain'd, there one of their blood was to reign. But this prov'd as false as such other prophesies for 300 years, from Edward the First to the reign of James the First in England. The Druidical oracle is in verse, and in these original words:

Cioniodh scuit saor an fúe,
 Mau ba breag an Faisdine,
 Mar a bhfuighid an Lia-fail,
 Dlighid flaitheas do ghabhail.

Which may be read thus truly, but monkishly translated, in *Hector Boethius*:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
 Invenient lapidem hunc, regnare tenentur ibidem.

The Lowland Scots have rhym'd it thus:

Except old Saws do feign,
 And wizards wits be blind,
 The Scots in place must reign,
 Where they this stone shall find.

And some English poet has thus render'd it:

Consider Scot, wher'e'er you find this stoune,
 If fates fail not, there fixt must be your throne.

chair, was thought to emit a sound under the rightful candidate (a thing easily manag'd by the Druids), but to be mute under a man of none or a bad title, that is, one who was not for the turn of those priests. Every one has read of Memnon's vocal statue in Egypt. This fatal stone was superstitiously sent to confirm the Irish colony in the north of Great Britain, where it continu'd as the coronation-seat of the Scottish kings, even since christianity; till, in the year 1300, Edward

The Irish pretend to have memoirs concerning it for above 2000 years: nay Ireland itself is sometimes, from this stone, by the poets call'd *Inis-fail*. But how soon they begun to use it, or whence they had it, lyes altogether in the dark. What's certain is, that after having long continu'd at Tarah, it was, for the purpose I have mentioned, sent to Fergus, the first actual king of Scots; and that it lay in Argile (the original seat of the Scots in Britain) till, about the year of Christ 842, that Keneth the 2d, the son of Alpin, having enlarg'd his borders by the conquest of the Picts, transferr'd this stone, for the same purpose as before, to Scone. So great respect is still paid by christians to a heathen prophesy! not onely false in fact, as I have this moment prov'd; but evidently illusory and equivocal, it being a thing most difficult to find any prince in Europe, who, some way or other, may not claim kindred of every other princely race about him, and consequently be of that blood. This is the case of our present sovereign King George, who is indeed descended of the Scottish race, but yet in propriety of speech is not of the Scottish line; but the first here of the Brunswick line, as others begun the British, Saxon, Danish, Saxo-Danish, Norman, Saxo-Norman, and Scottish lines. Yet this not being the sense in which the Irish and Scots understand the oracle, they ought consequently at this very time to look upon it as false and groundless.

the First of England brought it from Scone, placing it under the coronation-chair at Westminster: and there it still continues, the antientest respected monument in the world; for tho' some others may be more antient as to duration, yet thus superstitiously regarded they are not. I had almost forgot to tell you, that 'tis now by the vulgar call'd *Jacob-stone*, as if this had been Jacob's pillow at Bethel*. Neither shall I be more copious in treating of another kind of stones, tho' belonging also to our subject. They are roundish and of vast bulk; but so artificially pitch'd on flat stones, sometimes more, sometimes fewer in number: that touching the great stone lightly, it moves, and seems to totter, to the great amazement of the ignorant; but stirs not, at least not sensibly (for that is the case) when one uses his whole strength. Of this sort is *Maen-amber* in Cornwall, and another in the peak of Derby, whereof Dr. Woodward has given me an account from his own observation. Some there are in Wales, one that I have seen in the parish of Chunmany†, in the north of Ireland, and the famous *rocking stones* in Scotland; of all which, and many more, in our history. Yet I cou'd not excuse it to myself, if I did not with the soonest, let your lordship into the secret of this reputed magic; which the no less learned antiquary than able physician, Sir Robert Sib-

* Gen. 28. 11, 18, 19.

† *Cluainmaine*.

bald, has discover'd in the appendix to his *History of Fife and Kinross*. That gentleman speaking of the rocking-stone near Balvaird (or the bards town) "I am inform'd," says he, "that this stone was broken by the usurper (Cromwel's) soldiers; and it was discover'd then, that its motion was performed by a yolk extuberant in the middle of the under-surface of the upper stone, which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of the lower stone." To which let me add, that as the lower stone was flat, so the upper stone was globular; and that not onely a just proportion in the motion, was calculated from the weight of the stone, and the wideness of the cavity, as well as the oval figure of the inserted prominence; but that the vast bulk of the upper stone did absolutely conceal the mechanism of the motion; and the better still to impose, there were two or three surrounding flat stones, tho' that onely in the middle was concern'd in the feat. By this pretended miracle they condemn'd of perjury, or acquitted, as their interest or their affection led them; and often brought criminals to confess, what could be no other way extorted from them. So prevalent is the horror of superstition in some cases, which led many people to fancy (and among them the otherwise most judicious Strabo) that it might be a useful cheat to society; not considering, that in other cases (incomparably more numerous and important) it is most detrimental, pernicious, and

destructive, being solely useful to the priests that have the management of it; while it not onely disturbs or distresses society, but very often confounds and finally overturns it, of which history abounds with examples.

XVII. I come now to the Druids houses, by which I don't mean their forts or towns, of which they had many, but not as church-lands; nor yet the houses for their schools, situated in the midst of pleasant groves; but I mean little, arch'd, round, stone buildings, capable only of holding one person, where the retir'd and contemplative Druid sat, when his oak could not shelter him from the weather. There's another sort of Druids houses much larger. Of both these sorts remain several yet intire in the Ile of Sky, and also in some other isles; being by the natives call'd *Tighthe nan Druidhneach**, that is, Druids houses. Many of them are to be seen in Wales, and some in Ireland; but different from those under-ground-houses, or artificial caves, which are in all those places, consisting frequently of several chambers, and generally opening towards rivers or the sea; having been, as those of the Germans describ'd by Tacitus†, magazins against the extreme rigor

* Corruptly *Tinan Druinich*.

† Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant: suffugium hiemi, ac receptaculum frugibus; quia rigorem frigorū ejusmodi locis molliunt. Et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur: abdita autem et defossa aut ignoran-

of winter, or hiding places for men and goods in time of war. The vulgar in the islands do still show a great respect for the Druids houses, and never come to the antient sacrificeing and fire-hallowing cars, but they walk three times round them from east to west, according to the course of the sun. This sanctify'd tour, or round by the south, is call'd *Deiseal**; as the unhallow'd contrary one by the north, *Tuapholl*†. But the Irish and Albanian Scots do not derive the first (as a certain friend of mine imagin'd) from *Di-sul*, which signifies *Sunday* in Armorican British, as *Dydh-syl* in Welsh and *De-zil* in Cornish do the same; but from *Deas*‡, the *right* (understanding *hand*) and *soil*, one of the antient names of the sun, the right hand in this round being ever next the heap. The protestants in the Hebrides are almost as much addicted to the *Deisiol*, as the papists. Hereby it may be seen, how hard it is to eradicate inveterate superstition. This custom was us'd three thousand years ago, and God knows how long before, by their ancestors the antient Gauls of the same religion with them, who *turn'd round right-hand-wise, when they worship'd their gods*, as Athenus§ informs us out of Posidonius, a much elder writer. Nor is this contradicted, but clearly con-

tur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quærenda sunt. *De moribus German. cap. 3.*

* *Dextrorsum.*

† *Sinistrorsum.*

‡ Item *Deis.*

§ Οὗτοι θεοὺς περισχυουσιν, ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά στροφόμενοι. *Lib. 4. pag. 152.*

firmed by Pliny, who says, “ that the Gauls, contrary to the custom of the Romans*, turned to the left in their religious ceremonies;” for as they begun their worship towards the east, so they turn’d about as our ilanders do now, from east to west according to the course of the sun, that is, from the right to left, as Pliny has observ’d; whereas the left was among the Romans reputed the right in augury, and in all devotions answering it. Nor were their neighbours, the aboriginal Italians (most of ’em of Gallic descent) strangers to this custom of worshipping right-hand-wise, which, not to allege more passages, may be seen by this one in the *Curculio*† of Plautus, who was himself one of them: “ when you worship the gods, do it turning to the right hand;” which answers to turning from the west to the east. It is perhaps from this respectful turning from east to west, that we retain the custom of drinking over the left thumb, or, as others express it, according to the course of the sun, the breaking of which order, is reckon’d no small impropriety, if not a downright indecency, in Great Britain and Ireland. And no wonder, since this, if you have faith in Homer, was the custom of the gods themselves. Vulcan, in the first book

* In adorando dexteram ad osculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus; quod in lævum fecisse Galli religiosius credunt. *Hist. Nat. lib. 28. cap. 2.*

† Si Deos salutas, dextroorsum censeo. *Act. 1. Scen. 1. ver. 70.*

of the *Iliad**, filling a bumper to his mother Juno,

To th' other gods, going round from right to left,
Skenk'd Nectar sweet, which from full flask he pour'd.

But more of the right hand in the chapter of *Augury*.

XVIII. To resume our discourse about the Druids houses, one of them in the island of St. Kilda is very remarkable; and, according to the tradition of the place, must have belong'd to a Druidess. But be this as it will, it is all of stone, without lime, or mortar, or earth to cement it: 'tis also arch'd, and of a conic figure; but open at the top, and a fire place in the middle of the floor. It cannot contain above nine persons, to sit easy by each other: and from this whole description 'tis clear, that the edifice call *Arthur's Oven* in Sterlingshire, just of the same form and dimensions, is by no means of Roman original, whatever our antiquaries have thoughtlessly fancy'd to the contrary. Some make it the temple of Terminus, and others a triumphal arch, when they might as well have fancy'd it to be a hog-trough: so little is it like any of those arches. As to the house in St. Kilda, there go off from the side of the wall three low vaults, separated from each other by pillars, and capable of containing five persons a piece. Just such another house in all respects, but much larger, and grown over with a

* Αυταρ ο τοις αλλοις θεοις ενδεξια πασιν

Ωνοχει, γλυκυ νεκταρ απο κρητηρος αφυσσων.—Il. 1. ver. 597.

green sod on the outside, is in Borera, an ile adjacent to St. Kilda; and was the habitation of a Druid, who 'tis probable, was not unacquainted with his neighboring Druidess. Shetland abounds with another kind of stone houses, not unfrequent in Orkney, which they ascribe to the Picts; as they are apt all over Scotland to make every thing Pictish, whose origin they do not know. The Belgae or Firbolgs share this honour with the Picts in Ireland, and King Arthur is reputed the author of all such fabrics in Wales, except that those of Anglesey father 'em on the Irish. These instances I have given your lordship, to convince you, how imperfect all treatises about the Druids (hitherto publish'd) must needs be; since they contain nothing of this kind, tho' ever so essential to the subject: and that none of these monuments, very frequent in France, are there ascrib'd to the Druids, their records about such things being all lost; while very many of ours happily remain to clear them, since the usages were the same in both countries. Nor are those treatises less defective in the more instructive part, concerning the Druidicall philosophy and politics, whereof the modern French and Brittish writers, have in reality known nothing further, than the classic authors furnish'd 'em; or if they add any thing, 'tis absolutely fabulous, ill-invented, and unauthoriz'd. These subjects I reserve intire for my greater work. John Aubrey, Esq. a member of the royal

society (with whom I became acquainted at Oxford, when I was a sojourner there; and collecting during my idler hours a vocabulary of Armoric and Irish words, which, in sound and signification, agree better together than with the Welsh) was the only person I ever then met, who had a right notion of the temples of the Druids, or indeed any notion that the circles so often mention'd were such temples at all: wherein he was intirely confirm'd, by the authorities which I show'd him; as he supply'd me in return with numerous instances of such monuments, which he was at great pains to observe and set down. And tho' he was extremely superstitious, or seem'd to be so: yet he was a very honest man, and most accurate in his accounts of matters of fact. But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted. Nor will I deny justice on this occasion, to a person whom I cited before, and who in many other respects merits all the regard which the curious can pay; I mean Sir Robert Sibbald, who, in his foresaid *History of Fife* (but very lately come to my hands) affirms, that there are several Druids temples to be seen every where in Scotland, particularly in the county he describes. "These (says he) are great stones plac'd in a circle, at some distance from each other, &c." Mr. Aubrey show'd me several of Dr. Garden's letters from that kingdom to the same purpose, but in whose hands now I know not.

XIX. I shall conclude this letter with two examples of such works, as tho' not (that I can hitherto learn) belonging any way to the Druids, yet they may possibly be of that kind: or be they of what kind you will, they certainly merit our notice: as, together with those for which we can truly account, they highly serve to illustrate the antiquities of our Brittish world. My first example is in the Main-land of Orkney, describ'd amoung the rest of those ilands by Dr. Wallace and Mr. Brand; where, on the top of a high rocky hill at the west end of the iland near the village of Skeal, there is a sort of pavement, consisting of stones variously figur'd, some like a heart, others like a crown, others like a leg, some like a weaver's shuttle, others of other forms: and so on for above a quarter of a mile in length, and from 20 to 30 foot in breadth. In taking up any of these stones, the figure is as neat on the underside as the upper: and being as big as the life, all of one color, or a reddish kind of stone pitch'd in a reddish earth, and the pavement being so very long; it cannot possibly be any of the tessellated, or chequer'd works of the Romans. "I saw a part of the garden wall of the house of Skeal, says Mr. Brand*, decorated with these stones: and we intended to have sent a parcel of them to our friends in the south, as a rarity; if they had not been forgot, at our return from Zet-land." Dr. Wallace† also

* Pag. 43.

† Pag. 55.

says, that many of the stones are taken away by the neighboring gentry, to set them up like Dutch tiles in their chimneys: so that, at this rate, in less than a century, this pavement will in all likelihood subsist onely in books. All such monuments, when I go to Scotland, I shall so accurately describe in every respect, and give such accounts of them where accountable; that I hope the curious will have reason to be satisfy'd, or at least some abler person be emulous of satisfying the world, and me among the rest. Wherever I am at a loss, I shall frankly own it; and never give my conjectures for more than what they are, that is, probable guesses: and certainly nothing can be more amiss in inquiries of this kind, than to obtrude suppositions for matters of fact. Upon all such occasions, I desire the same liberty with Crassus in *Cicero de Oratore**: that *I may deny being able to do, what I'me sure I cannot; and to confess that I am ignorant of what I do not know.* This I shall not onely be ever ready to do myself, but to account it in others a learned ignorance.

XX. But, my lord, before I take my intended journey, I desire the favour of having your thoughts upon my next example. I speak of a couple of instances, really parallel; brought here together from parts of the world no less distant in their situation and climates, than different in their condi-

* *Mihi liceat negare posse, quod non potero; et fateri nescire, quod nesciam. Lib. 2.*

tion and manners. Egypt, I mean, and the iles of Scotland. Yet this they have in common, that Egypt, once the mother of all arts and sciences, is now as ignorant of her own monuments, and as fabulous in the accounts of them, as any Highlanders can be about theirs. Such changes, however, are as nothing in the numberless revolutions of ages. But to our subject. Herodotus says, in the second book of his history, that near to the entry of the magnificent temple of Minerva at Sais in Egypt (of which he speaks with admiration) he saw an edifice 21 cubits in length, 14 in breadth, and 8 in heighth, the whole consisting onely of one stone; and that it was brought thither by sea, from a place about 20 days sailing from Sais. This is my first instance. And, parallel to it, all those who have been in Hoy, one of the Orkneys, do affirm (wifhout citing, or many of them knowing this passage of Herodotus) that there lies on a barren heath in this iland an oblong stone, in a valley between two moderate hills, call'd, I suppose, antiphrastically, or by way of contraries, the *Dwarfy-stone*. It is 36 foot long, 18 foot broad, and 9 foot high. No other stones are near it. 'Tis all hollow'd within, or (as we may say) scoop'd by human art and industry, having a door on the east side 2 foot square, with a stone of the same dimension lying about two foot from it, which was intended, on doubt, to close this entrance. Within there is, at the south end of it,

cut out the form of a bed and pillow, capable to hold two persons; as, at the north end, there is another bed, Dr. Wallace says a couch, both very neatly done. Above, at an equal distance from both, is a large round hole, which is suppos'd, not onely to have been design'd for letting in of light and air, when the door was shut; but likewise for letting out of smoke from the fire, for which there is a place made in the middle between the two beds. The marks of the workman's tool appear every where; and the tradition of the vulgar is, that a giant and his wife had this stone for their habitation, tho' the door alone destroys this fancy, which is wholly groundless every way besides. Dr. Wallace thinks it might be the residence of a hermit, but it appears this hermit did not design to ly always by himself. Just by it is a clear and pleasant spring, for the use of the inhabitant. I wish it were in Surrey, that I might make it a summer study. As to the original design of this monument, men are by nature curious enough to know the causes of things, but they are not patient enough in their search; and so will rather assign any cause, tho' ever so absurd, than suspend their judgements, till they discover the true cause, which yet in this particular I am resolv'd to do.

XXI. Now, my lord, imagine what you please about the religious or civil use of this stone, my difficulty to your lordship is, how they were able

to accomplish this piece of architecture, among the rest that I have mention'd, in those remote, barren, and uncultivated ilands? And how such prodigious obeliscs cou'd be erected there, no less than in the other parts of Britain, and in Ireland? for which we have scarce any sufficient machines, in this time of learning and politeness. These monuments of every kind, especially the forts and the obeliscs, induc'd Hector Boethius to tell strange stories of the Egyptians having been there in the reign of Mainus king of Scotland: nor do they a little confirm the notion, which some both of the Irish and Albanian Scots have about their Egyptian, instead of a Scythian, (or as I shall evince) a Celtic original; tho' I assign more immediately a Brittish for the Irish, and an Irish extraction for the Scots. Nor is there any thing more ridiculous than what they relate of their Egyptian stock, except what the Britons fable about their Trojan ancestors. Yet a reason there is, why they harp so much upon Egyptians and Spaniards: but altogether misunderstood or unobserv'd by writers. But, not to forget our monuments, you will not say (what, tho' possible, appears improbable) that, according to the ceaseless vicissitude of things, there was a time, when the inhabitants of these ilands were as learned and knowing, as the present Egyptians and the Highlanders are ignorant. But say what you will, it cannot fail diffusing light on the subject; and to improve, if not intirely to satisfy,

the inquirer. The Ile of Man, as I said above, does no less abound in these monuments of all sorts, than any of the places we have nam'd; and therefore sure to be visited, and all its ancient remains to be examin'd, by,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most oblig'd,

And very humble Servant.

July 1, 1718.

THE
THIRD LETTER,
TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
LORD VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

I. **I** TAKE the liberty, my lord, to trouble you a third time with the company of the Druids; who, like other priests, resort always to the place where the best intertainment is to be found: and yet I must needs own, it derogates much from the merit of their visit; that, in the quality of philosophers they know not where to find a heartier welcome than in your lordship's study. Tho' I have very particularly explain'd the plan of my *History of the Druids*, in the two last letters I did myself the honor to send you on this subject, yet the work being considerably large, and containing great variety of matter, I have still something to impart, in order to give the clearer idea of my design. And it is, that, besides the citations of authors, indispensably requisite in proving matters of fact newly advanc'd, or in deciding of antient doubts and controveries (not to speak of such as

come in by way of ornament, or that a writer modestly prefers to his own expressions) I have sometimes occasion to touch upon passages, which, tho' I cou'd easily abridge, or needed but barely hint with relation to the purpose for which I produce them; yet being in themselves either very curious and instructive, or lying in books that come into few people's hands, I chuse to give them in my history intire. This method I have learnt from my best masters among the antients, who practis'd it with much success; tho', like them, I use it very sparingly. One or two instances you'll not be sorry to see. The explication I have given, in the 11th section of my first letter, of Ogmius, the antient Gallic name of Hercules, I am no less certain you do not forget, than that you remember I promis'd to take an opportunity of sending you the whole piece; which I have thus translated from the original Greec, with the utmost accuracy. "The Gauls," says Lucian*, "call Hercules in their country language Ogmius. But they represent the picture of this God in a very unusual manner. With them he is a decrepit old man, bald before, his beard extremely gray, as are the few other hairs he has remaining. His skin is wrinkl'd, sunburnt, and of such a swarthy hue as that of old mariners: so that you wou'd take

* Τον Ἡρακλέα οἱ Κέλται ΟΓΜΙΟΝ ονομαζουσι φωνή τῇ επιχωρίῳ, et quæ sequuntur in *Hercule Gallico*: Græca ctenim longiora sunt, quàm ut hic commodè inseri possint.

him to be Charon, or some Iapetus from the ne-thermost hell, or any thing rather than Hercules. But tho' he be such thus far, yet he has withall the habit of Hercules; being clad in the skin of a lion, holding a club in his right hand, a quiver hanging from his shoulders, and a bent bow in his left hand. Upon the whole it is Hercules. I was of opinion that all these things were perversely done, in dishonor of the Grecian gods, by the Gauls to the picture of Hercules: revenging themselves upon him by such a representation, for having formerly over-run their country, and driving a prey out of it; as he was seeking aftert he herd of Geryon, at which time he made incur-sions into most of the western nations. But I have not yet told, what is most odd and strange in this picture; for this old Hercules draws after him a vast multitude of men, all ty'd by their ears. The cords by which he does this are small fine chains, artificially made of gold and electrum, like to most beautiful bracelets. And tho' the men are drawn by such slender bonds, yet none of'em thinks of breaking loose, when they might easily do it; neither do they strive in the least to the contrary, or struggle with their feet, leaning back with all their might against their leader: but they gladly and cheerfully follow, praising him that draws them; all seeming in haste, and desirous to get before each other, holding up the chains, as if they should be very sorry to be set free. Nor will

I grudge telling here, what of all these matters appear'd the most absurd to me. The painter finding no place where to fix the extreme links of the chains, the right hand being occupy'd with a club, and the left with a bow, he made a hole in the tip of the god's tongue, (who turns smiling towards those he leads) and painted them as drawn from thence. I look'd upon these things a great while, sometimes admiring, sometimes doubting, and sometimes chafing with indignation. But a certain Gaul who stood by, not ignorant of our affairs, as he show'd by speaking Grec in perfection (being one of the philosophers, I suppose, of that nation) said, I'll explain to you, O stranger, the enigma of this picture, for it seems not a little to disturb you. We Gauls do not suppose, as you Greeks, that Mercury is *speech* or eloquence; but we attribute it to Hercules, because he's far superior in strength to Mercury. Don't wonder, that he's represented as an old man; for *speech* alone loves to show its utmost vigor in old age, if your own poets speak true.

All young men's breasts are with thick darkness fill'd;
But age experienc'd has much more to say,
More wise and learned, than rude untaught youth.

Thus, among yourselves, hony drops from Nestor's tongue; and the Trojan orators emit a certain voice call'd *Lirioessa*, that is, a *florid speech*; for, if I remember right, *flowers* are call'd *Liria*.

Now that Hercules, or *speech*, shou'd draw men after him ty'd by their ears to his tongue, will be no cause of admiration to you, when you consider the near affinity of the tongue with the ears. Nor is his tongue contumeliously bor'd: for I remember, said he, to have learnt certain iambics out of your own comedians, one of which says,

The tips of all prater's tongues are bor'd.

And finally, as for us, we are of opinion, that Hercules accomplish'd all his atchievments by *speech*; and, that having been a wise man, he conquer'd mostly by persuasion: we think his arrows were keen reasons, easily shot, quick, and penetrating the souls of men; whence you have, among you, the expression of wing'd words. Hitherto spoke the Gaul." From this ingenious picture Lucian draws to himself an argument of consolation: that the study and profession of eloquence was not unbecoming him in his old age, being rather more fit than ever to teach the *Belles Lettres*; when his stock of knowledge was most complete, as his speech was more copious, polish'd, and mature, than formerly.

II. As my first instance is furnish'd by a man, who, for his eloquence and love of liberty (qualities no less conspicuous in your lordship) deserv'd to have his memory consecrated to immortality, which was all that the wisest of the ancients understood by making any one a God; so my second

instance shall be taken from a woman, whose frailty and perfidiousness will serve as a foil to those learned Druidesses, and other illustrious heroines, which I frequently mention in my history. I introduce her in a passage I have occasion to allege, when I am proving, that wherever the Gauls or Britons are in any old author simply said to offer sacrifice (without any further circumstances added) this nevertheless is understood to be done by the ministry of the Druids; it having been as unlawful for any of the Celtic nations to sacrifice otherwise, as it was for the Jews to do so without their priests and Levites. “The Druids,” says Julius Cæsar*, “perform divine service, they offer the public and private sacrifices, they interpret religious observances:” and even when particular persons would propitiate the Gods, for the continuing or restoring of their health; “they make use of the Druids,” adds he†, “to offer those sacrifices.” “’Tis the establish’d custom of the Gauls,” says Diodorus Siculus‡, “to offer no sacrifice without a philosopher,” which is to say, a Druid: and Strabo so expresses it, affirming, that “they never sacrifice without the Druids§.” This unanswerable proof being pre-

* Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 6. cap. 12.*

† Administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur. *Ibid.*

‡ ἔθος δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ, μηδὲνα θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἀνευ φιλοσόφου. *Lib. 5. pag. 308. Edit. Hanov.*

§ ἔθουσι δὲ οὐκ ἀνευ Δρυϊδῶν. *Lib. 4. pag. 303. Edit. Amstel.*

mis'd, now follows one of the passages, wherein a Gaul being said simply to sacrifice, I think fit to relate the whole story. 'Tis the eighth of *Parthenius of Nicea's Love-stories*, related before him (as he says) in the first book of the history written by Aristodemus of Nysa, now lost. This Parthenius addresses his book to Cornelius Gallus, for whose use he wrote it, being the same to whom Virgil inscrib'd his tenth *Eclog*. The story runs thus. "When the Gauls* had made an incursion into Ionia, and sack'd most of the cities, the Thesmophorian festival was celebrated at Miletus; which occasioning all the women to assemble together in the temple, that was not far from the city: part of the barbarian army, which separated from the rest, made an irruption into the Milesian territory, and seiz'd upon those women; whom the Milesians were forc'd to ransom, giving in exchange a great sum of gold and silver. Yet the barbarians took some of them away for domestic use, among whom was Erippe†, the wife of Xanthus (a man of the first rank and birth in Miletus) leaving behind her a boy onely two years olde. Now Xanthus, passionately loving his wife, turn'd part of his substance into money, and having amass'd a thousand pieces of gold, he cross'd over with the soonest into Italy, whence being guided by some whom he had intertain'd in Greece, he

* 'Οτε δε δι Γαλαται κατεδραμον την Ιωνιαν, et quæ sequuntur.

† Aristodemus calls her Gythimia.

came to Marseilles, and so into Gaule. Then he went to the house where his wife was, belonging to a man of the greatest authority among the Gauls, and intreated to be lodg'd there; whereupon those of the family, according to that nation's usual hospitality, cheerfully receiving him, he went in and saw his wife, who running to him with open arms, very lovingly led him to his apartment. Cavara* the Gaul, who had been abroad, returning soon after, Erippe acquainted him with the arrival of her husband; and that it was for her sake he came, bringing with him the price of her redemption. The Gaul extoll'd the generosity of Xanthus, and strait inviting several of his own friends and nearest relations, hospitably treated him, making a feast on purpose, and placing his wife by his side; then asking him by an interpreter what his whole estate was worth, and Xanthus answering a thousand pieces of gold, the barbarian order'd him to divide that sum into four parts, whereof he should take back three, one for himself, one for his wife, and one for his little son, but that he shou'd leave him the fourth for his wife's ransom. When they went to bed, his wife heavily chid Xanthus, as not having so great a sum of gold to pay the barbarian, and that he was in danger, if he could not fulfill his promise. He told her, that he had yet a thousand pieces more

* So he's nam'd by Aristodemus: and it is to this day a common name in Ireland. *Vid. Act for attainting Shane O Neil.*

hid in the shoes of his servants; for that he did not expect to find any barbarian so equitable, believing her ransom wou'd have cost him much more. Next day the wife inform'd the Gaul what a great sum of gold there was, and bids him kill Xanthus; assuring him, that she lov'd him better than her country or her child, and that she mortally hated Xanthus. Cavara took no delight in this declaration, and resolv'd in his own mind from that moment to punish her. Now when Xanthus was in haste to depart, the Gaul very kindly permitted it, going with him part of the way, and leading Erippe. When the barbarian had accompany'd them as far as the mountains of Gaule, he said, that, before they parted, he was minded to offer a sacrifice; and having adorn'd the victim, he desir'd Erippe to lay hold of it: which she doing, as at other times she was accusom'd, he brandish'd his sword at her, ran her thro', and cut off her head; but pray'd Xanthus not to be at all concern'd, discovering her treachery to him, and permitting him to take away all his gold. 'Tis no more hence to be concluded, because no Druid is mention'd, that Cavara offer'd this sacrifice without the ministry of one or more such (unless he was of their number himself, which is not improbable) than that a man of his quality was attended by no servants, because they are not specially mention'd: for ordinary, as well as necessary circumstances, are ever suppos'd by good

writers, where there is not some peculiar occasion of inserting them.

III. In my third instance I return again to Hercules, of whom a story is told in the same book, whence we had the last; which, tho' related and recommended by the author as a good argument for a poem, affords, however, no small illustration, to what I maintain, by much more positive proofs, viz. that "Great Britain was denominated from the province of Britain in Gaule, and that from Gaule the original inhabitants of all the Brittish islands (I mean those of Cæsar's time) are descended." Listen for a moment to Parthenius. "Tis said that Hercules*, as he drove away from Erythia† the oxen of Geryon, had penetrated into the region of the Gauls, and that he came as far as Bretannus, who had a daughter call'd Celtina. This young woman falling in love with Hercules, hid his oxen: and wou'd not restore them, till he shou'd enjoy her first. Now Hercules being desirous to recover his oxen, and much more admiring the beauty of the maid, he lay with her; and in due time was born to them a son nam'd Celtus‡, from whom the Celts are so denominated." Many

* Δελεται δε και 'Ηρακλεα, οτε απ' Ερυθειας τας Γηρυονου βους ηγαγεν, αλωμενοι δια της Κελτων χωρας, αφικεσθαι παρα Βρεταννον: τω δε αρα υπαρχειν θυλατερα, Κελτικη γομα: ταυτην δε, ερασθεισαν του 'Ηρακλεους, κατακρυψαι τας βους; μη θελει τε αποδουσαι, ει μη προτερον αυτη μιχθηναι: τον δε Ηρακλεα, το μεν τοι κη τας βους επειρομενον ανασωσασθαι; πολυ μαλλον το καλλος εκτλησεντα της κορης, συγγενεσθαι αυτη: και αυτοις, χρονου περικλοντος, γενεσθαι παιδα Κελτην, αφ' ου δε Κελτοι προσκροφεισιν. Cap. 30.

† Now Cadiz.

‡ Gallus, Galli.

of the antient writers mention the incursion of Hercules into Gaule, when he made war against Geryon in Spain; which the judicious Diodorus Siculus shows to have been at the head of a powerful army, not with his bare club and bow, as the poets feign; and that it was he who built the fortress of Alexia, whereof the siege, many ages after by Julius Cæsar, became so famous. Diodorus likewise tells this story of Parthenius, but without naming Bretannus or Celtina. He onely says*, “a certain illustrious man, that govern’d a province in Gaule, had a daughter exceeding the rest of her sex, in stature and beauty: who, tho’ despising all that made court to her, being of a very high spirit; yet fell in love with Hercules, whose courage and majestic person she greatly admir’d. With her parent’s consent she came to a right understanding with this hero, who begot on her a son, not unworthy the pair from whom he sprung, either in body or mind. He was call’d Galates†, succeeded his grandfather in the government, and, becoming renown’d for his valor, his subjects were call’d Galatians‡ after his name, as the whole country itself Galatia§.” This is plainly the same story, onely that one writer supplies us with the names, which the other omits; and Ar-

* Τῆς Κελτικῆς τοῖνυν το παλαιον, ὡς φασιν, ἐδυνασευσεν ἐπιφανὲς ἀνὴρ, ὡ θυγατὲρ ἐγένετο, &c. — μιχθεῖσα δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐγέννησεν υἱὸν ὀνόμα Γαλατὴν — περιβοητὸς δὲ γενομένης ἐπ’ ἀνδρεία, τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτὴν τεταγμένους ὀνομαζέει ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ Γαλατάς, ἀφ’ ὧν ἡ συμπάσα Γαλατία προσηγορεύθη. *Lib. 4. pag. 303.*

† Gallus.

‡ Galli.

§ Gallia.

morican Britain being probably the province, wherein *Bretannus* rul'd (since we find it insinuated, that *Hercules* had penetrated far to come to him) 'tis still more than probable, that it was denominated from him; as I shall prove beyond the possibility of contradiction, that our Britain had its name from that of *Gaule*, as New England has from the old. *Hesychius*, in the word *Bretannus*, is of the same opinion with me. So is *Dionysius Periegetes**, with his commentator *Eustathius*†: and I am not a little countenanc'd by *Pliny* the elder, who places *Britons*‡ on the maritim coasts of *Gaule* over against Great Britain. But I have more evidence still. To say nothing at present of *Cæsar* so many ages before *Eustathius*, *Tacitus* likewise among the antients§, *Beda* among those of the middle ages||, and some of the most cele-

* ————— *Ενθα Βρετανοί,
Δευκα τε φυλα νεμονται αρειμανσων Γερμανων.*

Ver. 284.

† *Τωνδε Βριττανων ταυτων παρωνυμια, αι αντιπεραν Βρεττανιδες νησοι.*

‡ *A Scaldi incolunt extera Toxandri pluribus nominibus: deinde Menapij, Morini, Oromansaci juncti Pago qui Gessoriacus vocatur: Britanni**, *Ambiani*, *Bellovaci*, *Hassi*. *Nat. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 17.*

§ *In universum tamen aestimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est: eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione: Sermo haud multum diversus, &c. Vit. Agric. cap. 11.*

|| *Hæc Insula Britones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit; qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti, australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

* *In quibusdam exemplaribus, sed perperam, Britanni.*

brated modern writers, are as express as words can possibly make any thing, that Britain was peopled from Gaule. Nor is the epithet of Great, added to our Britain, any more an objection to this assertion, than the coast of Italy, formerly call'd Magna Graecia, cou'd be made the mother country of Greece, when the cities of that coast were all colonies from thence: besides that Great Britain was anciently so call'd with respect to Ireland, which (before the fable of the Welsh colony in Gaule was invented) is call'd Little Britain, as you'll see anon. These disquisitions come not into the *History of the Druids*, but into the annexed *Dissertation concerning the Celtic language and colonies*. There you'll see the folly of deriving Britain from the fabulous Irish hero Briotan, or from the no less imaginary Brutus the Trojan; nor is the word originally Pridcain, Prytania, Bridania, or descended from either Phenician, or Scandinavian, or Dutch, or even any Brittish words. The insular Britons, like other colonies, were long govern'd by those on the continent; and by the neighboring provinces, who join'd in making settlements here. It was so even as low down as a little before Julius Cæsar's conquest; in whose *Commentaries** it is recorded, that "those of Soissons had within their memory (says the am-

* *Suessones esse suos finitimos, latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere: apud eos fuisse Regem nostrâ etiam memoriâ Divitiacum, totius Galliæ potentissimum; qui, cum magnæ partis harum*

bassadors of Rheims to him) Divitiacus* for their king, the most potent prince of all Gaule: who sway'd the scepter, not onely of a great part of those regions, but also of Britain." In the same dissertation, after exploding the Welsh fable about Britain in France, you'll read as positive proofs, that the ancient Irish, not one of their colonies excepted (the Nemetes, the Firbolgs, the Dananans, and the Milesians) were all from Gaule and Great Britain; whose language, religion, customs, laws and government, proper names of men and places, they constantly did and do still use; whereas (to forbear at present all other arguments) not one single word of the Irish tongue agrees with the Cantabrian or Biscayan, which is the true old Spanish; the present idiom being a mixture of Latin, Gothic, and Arabic. Besides this, all the antients knew and held the Irish to be Britons, as Ireland itself is by Ptolomy call'd *Little Britain*†. They were reckoned Britons by Aristotle, who in his book *de Mundo*, calls the country *Ierne*‡; as Orpheus before him *Iernis*§, if Onomacritus be not the author of the *Argonautica*,

regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 2. cap. 4.*

* Different from Divitiacus the Eduan or Burgundian.

† Μικρά Βρετανία, in *Almagest. lib. 2. cap. 6.*

‡ Εν τούτοις γέ μιν [οικουσι] νησοὶ μεγάλαι τε συγγαμισσιν ἡσσι δὲ, Βρετανικαὶ λεγόμεναι, Ἀλβιον καὶ Ἰερν. *Cap. 3.*

§ Ἀρχαίως δ' οἰκοῦσ' ἐπιστραμμένως ἐτίτανε,

Παρ' δ' αἶα νησὶν ἀμειβεῖν Ἰερν' α ——— *Ver. 1240.*

or rather, as Suidas asserts, Orpheus of Crotona, contemporary with the tyrant Pisistratus. And if this be true, Archbishop Usher did not gasconade, when he said, that the Roman people cou'd not any where be found so antiently mention'd as *Iernis**. Dionysius Periegetes, before cited, is of the same opinion in his *Description of the world*†, that the Irish were Britons: as Stephanus Byzantius names it *British Juvernia, the least of the two islands*‡. Diodorus Siculus mentions *the Britons inhabiting the island call'd Iris*§, a name better expressing *Ere* (vulgarly *Erinn*) the right name of Ireland, than *Ierne, Juverna, Hibernia*, or any name that has been either poetically or otherwise us'd. Strabo stiles Ireland *Brittish Ierna*||, as his antient abridger calls the Irish, *the Britons inhabiting Ierna*¶: and, if we may intermix ludicrous with serious things, where 'tis now read in the same Strabo, that the Irish were *great eaters***, his said abridger reads it *herb-eaters*††, which wou'd induce one to believe, that so long ago *Shamrogs* were in as great request there as at present. Pliny says in express words, that “every one of the Brittish Ilands was call'd Britain;

* *Primord. Eccles. Britannicar. pag. 724.*

† Δισσαι νησαι εασι βρετανιδες αττια Ρηνου. *Ver. 566.*

‡ Ιουερνια η Πρεταπνικη, των δυο ελασσων.

§ ——— Ωσπερ και των Βρετανων, τους κατοικουντας την ονομαζομενην Ιερν.
Lib. 5. pag. 309.

|| ‘Οι την Βρετανικην Ιρην ηδητες, &c. *Lib. 1. pag. 110.*

¶ ‘Οι την Ιεερην νησον κατοικουντες Βρετανοι. *Lib. 3.*

** Πολυφαγοι.

†† Πουζαγοι

wherás Albion was the distinguishing name of the Britain now peculiarly so call'd, and so famous in the Grec and Roman writings*." These particulars (I repeat it) much below the dignity of our history, will be found in the before-mention'd dissertation; which, tho' infinitely less useful, I dare prophesy will be full as much read, if not much more relish'd. The greatest men, however, have not thought it unbecoming them, to search at their leisure into such originals: and I, for my part, found it almost a necessary employment, considering the light it adds to my principal work.

IV. To return thither therefore, there are diverse passages, some longer, some shorter, in the most ancient Grec authors we have, or copy'd by these from such as are quite lost; which, tho' generally neglected and unobserv'd, will be no small ornament to the history I have taken in hand. And, to say it here by the way, 'tis certain that the more antient Grec writers, such as Hecateus, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Posidonius (not to speak of Dicearchus and others) knew a great deal of truth concerning the Brittish ilands: by reason of the frequent navigations of the Greeks into these parts, after the way was shown them by the Phenicians; so antient an author as Herodotus affirming, that his coun-

* *Britannia clara Graecis nostrisque scriptoribus*—Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britanniae vocarentur omnes. [Insulae nempe Britannicae.] *Nat. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 16.*

trymen had their tin from hence*, tho' he cou'd give little account of the iland. But this commerce being interrupted for several ages afterwards, the later writers did not onely themselves vend abundance of fables about these northern parts of the world; but treat as fabulous, what their predecessors had recorded with no less honesty than exactness. Of this I shall have occasion to give some convincing proofs in this very letter. But not to forget the passages of the antients, when you call to mind those *rocking-stones* set up by the Druids, describ'd in the 14th and 16th section of our second letter, and whereof several are yet standing; you'll not doubt but 'tis one of them, that is mention'd in the abridgement we have of Ptolomy Hephestion's history: who, in the third chapter of the third book, is said "to have written about the *Gigonian Stone*† standing near the ocean; which is mov'd with such a small matter as the stalk of asphodel, tho' immoveable against the greatest force imaginable." This passage needs, in my opinion, no comment. But we are to note, when those old writers talk of any thing near the ocean with respect to the straights of Hercules‡, and without specifying the place; that it may then

* —Ουτε νησους οίδα Κασσιτεριδας εουσας, εκ των ο κασσιτερος ημιν φουτα. *Lib.*
3. cap. 115.

† Περὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ωκεανὸν Γυγνίας πέτρας, καὶ ὅτι μόνῃ ἀσφοδελῷ κινεῖται, πρὸς πᾶσαν βίαν ἀμετακινήτος εὐσα.

‡ Now of Gibraltar.

be on the coast of Spain, or of France, in the Brittish ilands, or on any of the northern shores. It is onely to be discover'd either by matter of fact, or by probable circumstances: as this *Gigonian stone* (for example) was necessarily in some of the Celtic or British territories, whose Druids alone set up such stones. So were the birds, whereof I am now going to speak. “What Artemidorus has deliver'd concerning the ravens (says Strabo*) sounds very much like a fable. He tells us, that there is a certain lake near the ocean, which is call'd the lake of the two ravens, because two ravens appear in it, which have some white in their wing: that such as have any controversy together came thither to an elevated place, where they set a table, each laying on a cake separately for himself: and that those birds flying thither, eat the one while they scatter the other about; so that he, whose cake is thus scatter'd, gets the better of the dispute. Such fables does he relate!” But I wou'd ask Strabo, what is there fabulous in all this? or why shou'd the rude Gauls and Britons, being influenc'd by the eating or not eating of ravens, be thought more strange or fabulous, than the *tripudium solistimum* of chickens among the

* Τούτο δ' ἐστὶ μυθώδες· ἔργον Ἀρτεμίδωρος, τὸ περὶ τοὺς Κοράκας συμβαίνειν. Διμένα γὰρ τινα τῆς παρωκεανίδος ἰσόρει δύο κοράκων ἐπονομαζομένων; φαίνεσθαι δ' ἐν τούτῳ δύο κοράκας, τὴν δεξιὰν πτερυγὰ παραλευκὸν ἔχοντας; τοὺς οὖν περὶ τινὰ ἀμφισβητούντας, ἀφικημένους δευρὸ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τοποῦ, σάββα θέντας, ἐπιβάλλειν ψαίσα, ἐκατέρῃν χώρῃ: τοὺς δ' ὄρνεις ἐφιπταντάς τ' αὖ μὲν ἐσθίειν, τ' αὖ σπορπίζειν; οὐ δ' ἀνίσκῃσι τισὶν αὖ ψαίσα, ἐκείνων. Ταῦτα μὲν οὐτ' ἀμυθώδες ἔστι λέγει. *Lib. 4. pug. 303.*

polite Romans? which Casaubon, I will not say how truly, thinks was deriv'd from these very ravens*. If Strabo had said, that the divination itself was superstitious and vain, or that it was ridiculous to imagin the ravens cou'd discern the cake of the guilty from that of the innocent (tho they might greedily eat one of them when hungry, and wantonly sport with the other when their bellies were full) no man of judgement, wou'd contradict him. As for ravens having some white in their wings, it contains nothing fabulous, I myself having seen such, and no ornithologists omitting them. I will own, indeed, that so uncommon a thing as white in the wing of a raven, and for a couple of them to hold a place so cunningly to themselves,* was enough to work upon the superstitious fancies of ignorant people, who laid such stress above all nations upon augury; so that in this whole story of the two ravens, nothing appears to me either fabulous or wonderful. Nay, I am persuaded Artemidorus was in the right, there being examples at this time of ravens thus securing a place to themselves; and the first I shall give is, for ought any body knows, the very place hinted by Artemidorus. Dr. Martin, in his *Description of the Isles of Scotland*, discoursing of Bernera (which is five miles in circumference, and lyes about two leagues to the south of Harries) "in

* In Annotatione ad hunc Strabonis locum.

this island," says he*, "there's a couple of ravens, which beat away all ravenous fowls; and when their young are able to fly abroad, they beat them also out of the island, but not without many blows and a great noise." In this island, moreover, to remark a further agreement with Artemidorus, there's a fresh-water lake call'd Loch-bruist, where many land and sea-fowl build. He tells us† elsewhere of another such couple, which are of the same inhospitable, or rather cautious and frugal disposition, in a little island near North-Uist; and still of such another couple‡, in all respects, upon the ile of Troda near Sky. But as eagles were no less birds of augury, than ravens, the doctor, in his account of a little island near the greater one of Lewis§, says, that he saw a couple of eagles there; which, as the natives assur'd him, wou'd never suffer any other of their kind to continue in the island: driving away their own young ones, as soon as they are able to fly. The natives told him further, that those eagles are so careful of the place of their abode, that they never kill'd any sheep or lamb in the island; tho' the bones of lambs, fawns, and wild-fowl, are frequently found in and about their nests: so that they make their purchase in the opposite islands, the nearest of which is a league distant. There's such another couple of eagles, and as tender of injuring their native country, on the north end of St. Kilda||.

* Page 47. † Page 60. ‡ Page 166. § Page 26. || Page 299.

which ilands may be view'd in the map of Scotland. I must observe on this occasion, that there's no part of our education so difficult to be eradicated as *superstition*; which is industriously instill'd into men from their cradles by their nurses, by their parents, by the very servants, by all that converse with them, by their tutors and schoolmasters, by the poets, orators, and historians which they read: but more particularly by the priests, who in most parts of the world are hir'd to keep the people in error, being commonly back'd by the example and authority of the magistrate. Augury was formerly one of the most universal superstitions, equally practis'd by the Greeks and the barbarians; certain priests in all nations, pretending, tho' by very contrary rites and observations, to interpret the language, the flight, and feeding of birds: as Eneas thus addresses Helen the priest of Apollo *,

Trojugena, interpres Divum, qui numina Phoebi,
 Qui tripodas, Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis,
 Et volucrum linguas, et praepetis omina pennae,
 Fare age. --

Now to comprehend what deep root superstition takes, and how the sap keeps alive in the stump, ready to sprout forth again, after the trunk and branches have for many ages been cut off; I beg

* Virg. Aen. lib. 3.

your patience to hear the following story, especially since we are upon the subject of ravens. When I was in Dublin in the year 1697, I walk'd out one day to the village of Finglass, and overtook upon the way two gentlemen of the old Irish stock, with whom I had contracted some acquaintance at the coffee-house. They told me they were going a good way further, about a business of some importance; and not many minutes after one of 'em cry'd out with joy to the other, see cousin, by heaven matters will go well: pointing at the same instant to a raven feeding and hopping hard by, which had a white feather or two in the wing that was towards us. The other appear'd no less transported, nor would they stir till they saw what way the raven flew; which being to the south of them, and with a great noise, they were fully confirm'd about the success of their business. This brought to my remembrance that obliative augury in Virgil*:

Scarce had he said, when full before his sight
 Two doves, descending from their airy flight,
 Secure upon the grassy plain alight——
 ——With watchful sight
 Observing still the motions of their flight,

}

* —— Geminae cùm forte Columbae

Ipsa sub ora viri coelo venère volantes,

Et viridi sedère solo——vestigia pressit,

Observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.

Aeneid. lib. 6. ver. 190.

What course they took, what happy signs they shew;
 They fled, and, flatt'ring by degrees, withdrew—— &c.

Dryden's translat.

Nor was I unmindful, you may be sure, of that
 passage in Plautus*,

'Tis not for nought, that the raven sings now on my left;
 And, croaking, has once scrap'd the earth with his feet.

Upon my putting some questions to those gentlemen, they said it was certain by the observation of all ages, that a raven having any white in its wings, and flying on the right hand of any person, croaking at the same time, was an infallible pre-sage of good luck. I us'd a great many arguments to show them the vanity and unreasonableness of this piece of superstition, comparing it among other extravagancies, to the no less absurd one of dreams; where if one happens by chance to come to pass, while ten thousand fail, these are forgot and the other remember'd. But I am persuaded all I did or cou'd say, even my argument *ad hominem*, in proving that augury was specially forbid by the law of Moses, wou'd have made little impression on them; had it not been that they miscarry'd in what they went about, as one of them candidly own'd to me some weeks after-

* Non temerè est, quod corvos cantat mihi nunc ab laeva
 manu;

Semel radebat pedibus terram, et voce crocitabat sua.

Aulul. Act. 4. Scen. 3. ver. 1.

wards, who cou'd then listen to my reasons, and seem'd to taste them. Thus far have I been led by the ravens of Artemidorus. But I have not rambl'd yet so far after birds as the old Gauls, "whereof a part (to use the words of Justin after Trogus*) settl'd in Italy, which took and burnt the city of Rome; while another part of them penetrated into the Illyric bays, by the slaughter of the barbarians, and under the guidance of birds, (for the Gauls excell all others in the skill of augury) settl'd in Pannonia": telling next, how, after dividing their forces, they invaded Greece, Macedonia, and most parts of Asia, where they founded the Gallogrecian tetrarchy. But still you see they were birds, that guided those famous expeditions.

V. I have by good authorities shown before, that the antientest Greec writers had much greater certainty, and knew many more particulars, concerning the Brittish ilands, even the most remote and minute, than such as came after them; by reason that the Grecian trade hither, open first by the Phenicians, had been for a long time interrupted, or rather quite abandon'd. Thus in time the original relations came to be look'd upon as so many fables, at which I do not so much wonder

* Ex his portio in Italia consedit, quae et urbem Romam captam incendit; et portio Illyricos sinus, ducibus Avibus (nam Augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent) per strages barbarorum penetravit, et in Pannonia consedit. *Lib. 24. cap. 4.*

in any man, as in the most judicious of all geographers and the most instructive, I mean the philosopher Strabo. These later Greeks were implicitly credited and transcrib'd by the Roman writers, till Britain came to be fully known, having rather been shown than conquer'd by Julius Cesar; and scarce believ'd to be an island, tho' it was constantly affirm'd to be so by the most antient discoveries, till Vespasian's lieutenant, Agricola, found it beyond all possibility of contradiction to be an island *, part of the Roman fleet sailing round it. But of the remotest islands there has been no exact account from that time to this. That of Donald Monro, in James the Fifth of Scotland's time, is very imperfect: and tho' in our own time Doctor Martin, who is a native of one of those islands, has travell'd over them all to laudable purpose; yet his descriptions are in many instances too short, besides that he omits several observations, which his own materials show he ought to have frequently made. Considering, therefore, the curious things out of him and others, that may be agreeably read in my too former letters (together with many more accounts of monuments there, which I have from good hands) I own that I am passionately desirous to spend one summer in those islands, before the *History of the Druids*

* Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primùm Romana Classis circumvecta, insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit. *Tacit. in Vita Agric. cap. 10.*

makes its public appearance in the world. But I return to the antient writers who mention the remotest Brittish ilands, of whom Pytheas of Massilia, a Greec colony in Gaule (now Marseilles) is the very first on record. He liv'd in the time of Alexander the Great, and publish'd his geographical work, or rather his voyages, intitul'd the *Tour of the Earth**, before his contemporary Timeus wrote, or Dicearchus, or Eratosthenes, or Polybius, who follow'd each other, and who in some things disagree. This Pytheas, and also one Euthymenes, were sent by the senate of Marseilles to make discoveries, the former to the north, the latter to the south. Euthymenes, sailing along the coast of Africa, past the line; and Pytheas, landing in Britain and Ireland, as well as on the German coast and in Scandinavia, sail'd beyond Iceland. Both the one and the other made such discoveries, as long past for fables: but time, by means of our modern navigation, has done both of 'em justice. Pytheas, on his part, was terribly decry'd by Strabo, who without ceremony calls him *a most lying fellow*†; tho' he's since found, and now known by every body, to be much more in the right than himself. Nothing is more exact, than what he has related, or that is related after him, of the temperature of the Brit-

* Γης περιόδος. Scholiast. in Apollonii Argonautica, lib. 4. ad vers. 761.

† Πυθαίας ἀνὴρ ψευδεστάτος ἐξητασται. Lib. 1. p. 110.

tish climate, of the length of the nights and days, of the strange birds and monstrous fishes of the northern ocean: nor is it a small loss, that a treatise he wrote in particular *of the ocean* has perish'd with his other works, whereof we have onely a few fragments. He was the first, for ought appears, that mention'd *Thule*, meaning thereby the utmost inhabited iland beyond Britain, from which he says it is about six days sail *, and near the frozen sea, which perfectly agrees to Iceland. But Strabo denies that there was ever any Thule†, or that any thing beyond Iceland (which he places to the north of Great Britain, wheras it is due west of it) either was or cou'd be inhabited. "They," says he in his first book‡, "who have seen Brittish Ireland, speak nothing about Thule, but onely that there are several small ilands near

* — Δια Θουλης, ην φησι Πυθειας απο μεν της Βρετανικης εξ ημερων πλουσι απεχειν προς αρκτον; εγγυς δειναι της πεπηγυιας θαλαττης. *Lib. 1. p. 109.*

† *Tul* in the ancient language signifies naked and bleak, as Iceland has neither tree nor shrub; so that *Tul-i*, without any alteration, is *the naked iland*, the most proper name for Iceland, and which foreners must have naturally learnt of the Britons, whether Ibernian or Albionian. *Tulgach ni nocht*, *Tul* is every naked thing, says O'Clery in his *Vocabulary of obselete words*. It was a slender affinity of sound, that made *Ila* (one of the western Scottish Iles) to be taken for *Thule*; for neither is it the utmost land of Europe, nor yet of the Brittish ilands themselves. See what I have written in the second book concerning the disputes about *Thule*.

‡ "Οι την Βρετανικην Ιερνεν ιδοντες, ουδεν περι της Θουλης λεγουσιν; αλλας νησους λεγουτες μικρας περι την Βρετανικην. *Ibid. pag. 110.*

Britain." In the second book he says*, "the utmost place of navigation in our time, from Gaule towards the north, is said to be Ireland, which being situated beyond Britain, is, by reason of the cold, with difficulty inhabited; so that all beyond it," continues he "is reckon'd uninhabitable." This of Ireland, namely, that it is the north of Britain, and scarce habitable for cold, he repeats again in two or three places; from which he draws this conclusion, that there is no Thule at all, since nothing is habitable beyond Ireland; which, therefore, according to him, is the most northerly part of the habitable earth. You see here how much more in the right Pytheas was, who liv'd in the time of Alexander, than Strabo who liv'd in the time of Augustus and Tiberius; and that it is a proceeding no less impertinent than unjust, to have any man contradicted who was upon the spot, but by such others as were also there, unless the things related be manifestly impossible, or that the relator is no competent judge; as if a traveller, who understands no mathematics, should affirm the Malabrians to be the best mathematicians in the world. But Strabo, who, notwithstanding all these gross mistakes in the extremities of Europe, is one of the foremost authors in my esteem: Strabo, I say, a little lower in the

* 'Ο δὲ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς πρὸς ἀρκτον, πλοῦς ἐσχάτος λεγεται παρα τοὺς νῆς, οἱ εἰς τὴν Ἰερην, ἐπέμεινα μὲν ὡσαν τῆς Βρετανικῆς, ἀθλιωὺς δὲ διὰ ψυχρὸς οἰκουμένην: ὥς τε τὰ περὶ ταυτοὺς νομίζειν ἀσκητὰ. *Id. lib. 2. pag. 124.*

same book, as doubting whether he was in the right, and pretending it was no great matter shou'd he be in the wrong, affirms that at least it is not known whether there be any habitable place beyond Ireland (which he still places to the north of Britain), “nor is it of any importance to the prince*,” says he, “to have an exact notice of such regions or their inhabitants, especially shou'd they live in such ilands, which cannot contribute any thing to our damage or profit (meaning the Romans) there being no intercourse between us.” This reflection might perhaps be true with respect to the emperor and the empire; yet it is a very lame reason for a geographer, who is accurately to describe all places, let them have relation to his prince or not. But the truth of it is, he wou'd not believe the antient Greec and Massilian sailors, neither had he any better information himself, wherby to supply or to correct them.

VI. As for Ireland, it was very well known to the more antient geographers, as I show'd before; it being directly in the way of the Phenicians (who are said by Aristotle† to have discover'd it) when they sail'd for Britain. Lying therefore so con-

* Πρὸς τε τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς χρείας οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πλεονεκτήμα, τὰς τοιαύτας γινώσκοντες χώρας καὶ τοὺς οἰκοντάς: καὶ μάλα εἰ νηπύους οἰκεῖν τοιαύτας, αἱ μὴτε λυπεῖν μὴτε ὠφελεῖν ἡμᾶς δυνάτα μὴδεν, διὰ τὸ ἀνεπιπλεκτόν. *Ibid.* pag. 176.

† Ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, τῇ ἐξ Ἑρμῶν γῆλων, φασὶν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων πησὶν εὐρεθῆναι ἐρημνίαν, ἔχουσαν ὕλην τε παπτοδάμην, καὶ ποταμούς πλωτούς, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Καρχηδονίοις θαυμαστὴν ἀπεχούσαν δὲ πλειονὴν ἐμέρων; et quæ sequuntur illic reliqua, Hiberniæ imprimis convenientia. *De Mirabil. Auscultat.*

veniently for the Phenicians, Grecians, Spaniards, and Gauls, it was always a place of great trade: and for this reason Tacitus* says (agreeable to the Irish annals) “ that its ports were better known for trade, and more frequented by merchants, than those of Britain. Neither is Pytheas’s account of the frozen sea, any more than that of Thule, a fable. Whoever was in Greenland, knows it to be literally true. It is, therefore, in the ancient Grec and Roman books, call’d the icy, the slow†, the congeal’d, the dead sea; as I have read that it is in some Arabic books very properly written, the dark sea and the sea of pitch. In the oldest Irish books ’tis call’d by words‡ that import the *foul*, and the *foggy* sea; and likewise *Muirchroinn*, or the coagulated sea§, from the word *Croinn*, which signifies close and thick as well as round||. From this original, which Pytheas and other travellers learnt no doubt from the Britons, this sea was nam’d *Cronium*¶: and not (as after-

* *Melius aditus portusque, per commercia et negotiatores, cogniti. Vit. Agric. cap. 24.*

† *Mare glaciale, pigrum, congelatum, mortuum.*

‡ *Muircheacht, Muircheoach.*

§ *Mare concretum.*

|| *Cruwn* has the same signification in Welsh, and *Cronni* or *Croinnigh* in both the languages signifies to gather, to obstruct, to heap, and particularly *Cronni* to thicken or stagnate waters; so that this derivation of the *Cronian*, and *congeal’d sea*, cannot be reasonably call’d in question.

¶ *‘Αλσ κρονιν.*

wards invented from the mere sound) because Cronos, or Saturn, was enchanted in Ogygia, an island west of Britain; which is fabulously reported by Plutarch* and other writers, who have hitherto been inconsiderately follow'd by every body. I wonder they do not affirm after them, since they may do so with equal reason, that some of the west and north British islands are possess'd by heroes and departed souls†. The northern sea, even before one comes to the icy part, and perhaps most properly, may be term'd *slow* and *dead*, by reason of the *Rousts*, or meetings of contrary tides; whose conflict is sometimes so equal, that they are a great impediment to the boat or ship's way: nay sometimes, tho' under sail, they can make no way at all; but are very often impetuously whirl'd round, and now and then quite swallow'd up. This kind of shipwrack is no less naturally than elegantly describ'd by Virgil, when he relates the fate of Orontes who commanded a ship under Eneas:

Ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
 In puppim ferit; excutitur, pronusque magister
 Volvitur in caput: ast illam ter fluctus ibidem
 Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat aequore vortex.

Aen. lib. 1.

* *De facie in orbs Lunæ: de Defectu Oraculor.* Videndi etiam Orpheus in *Argonauticis*, Plinius, Solinus, Isaacius Tzetzes in *Lycophronis Alexandrani*, &c.

† *Idem consulendi, quorum in Annotatione præcedenti mentio; nec non in Horatii Epodam 16 commentantes legendi.*

I shou'd not forget here, that, upon the discovery of Thule by Pytheas, one Antonius Diogenes wrote a romance in twenty four books, which he intitul'd *the Incredibilities of Thule*; where he laid his scene, and whereof Photius has given some account*. I have dwelt the longer upon these ilands, because they did not onely, like the other parts of Britain, abound with Druids, who have there left various memorials of themselves: but also because the last footing they had in the world was here, which makes it little less than essential to my subject. Nor was it in the Ile of Man alone, that a peculier government was set up by their procurement or approbation; as you have read in my second letter of their disciple, the admirable legislature Manannan. There was likewise another government of their erection, singular enough, in the Hebudes†; where better provision was made against the changing of an elective into a hereditary monarchy, and against all other exorbitances of the prince, than ever I read in any author antient or modern. Solinus, speaking of these ilands, “there is one king,” says he‡, “over

* Τὸν ὑπερθευλῆος ἀπὶ τῶν λόγων κδ. In Bibliotheca, cod. 166.

† Another name for the Western Isles, equivalent to the *Hebrides*: if they were not originally the same, having perhaps by the mistake of transcribers been written for each other; nothing being easier, than to confound *ui* with *ri*, or *ri* with *ui*, as antiently written.

‡ Rex unus est universis: nam quotquot sunt, omnes angustà interlaviè dividuntur. Rex nihil suum habet, omnia universo.

them all; for they are, as many as be of them, divided onely by narrow channels. This king has nothing of his own, but shares of every thing that every man has. He is by certain laws oblig'd to observe equity: and lest avarice shou'd make him deviate from the right way, he learns justice from poverty; as having no manner of property, being maintained upon the public expence. He has not as much as a wife of his own, but by certain turns makes use of any woman towards whom he has an inclination; whence it happens, that he has neither the desire nor the hope of any children." 'Tis pity this author has not specify'd those laws, by which equity was prescrib'd to the Hebudian monarch, in injoying what was proper for him of other men's goods: and that he has not told us, how those vicissitudes were regulated, whereby he had the temporary use of other men's wives, who nevertheless were to father all the children. As I shou'd this passage one day to a couple of my friends, one of them readily agreed, that the state must needs find their account in this constitution; both as it sav'd the expence of treasure in maintaining a numerons royal progeny, and as it sav'd the expence of blood in settling their several claims

rum. Ad æquitatem certis Legibus stringitur; ac, ne avaritiâ divertat a vero, discit paupertate justitiam: utpote cui nihil sit rei familiaris, verùm alitur e publico. Nulla illi datur fœmina propria; sed per vicissitudines, in quacunque commotus sit, usurariam sumit unde ei nec votum, nec spes, Liberorum. *Cap. 22.*

or contentions: but had it not been, said he, for the strict care taken against accumulating riches or power on the prince, I should have naturally thought, that it was one of those Druidical priests, who had thus advantageously carv'd for himself. Hereupon the other reply'd, that he fancy'd such priests wou'd be contented to have plentiful eating and drinking, and variety of women, thus establish'd by law for them; since it was for no other end, he conceiv'd, but to obtain these, that they struggl'd so hard any where for power and riches. But if this were so, the Druids cou'd be at no manner of loss about their pleasures; considering the sway they bore in the civil authority, and their management of the much more powerful engine of superstition: for "without the Druids, who understand divination and philosophy," says Dion Chrysostom*, "the kings may neither do nor consult any thing; so that in reality they are the Druids who reign, while the kings (tho' they sit on golden thrones, dwell in spacious palaces, and feed on costly dishes) are onely their ministers, and the executioners of their sentence." Judge now what influence those priests had upon the people, when they might thus control the prince; and consequently, whether they could

* Κέλτοι δὲ οὓς ὀνομαζουσι Δρυϊδας, καὶ τούτους περὶ μαντικὴν ὄντας καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν σοφίαν, ὧν ἀνευ τοῖς βασιλευσὶν οὐδὲν εἶναι πράττειν οὐδὲ βουλευσθαι; ὥς το μὲν ἀληθεὲς ἐκείνους ἀρchein, τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖας αὐτῶν ὑπερῆτας καὶ διακόνους γιγνέσθαι τῆς γνῶμης, ἐν θρόνοις χρυσοῖς καθημένους, καὶ οἰκίας μεγάλας οἰκουστας, καὶ πολυτιμῶς ἐνὶ ὠχυρμαῖουσιν.
De recusatione Magistrat. in Senatu, pag. 538. Edit. Paris.

possibly want any thing, that brought 'em either pleasure or power. The kings bore all the envy, and the Druids possess all the sweets of authority.

VII. But leaving both for a while, I submit to your lordship's consideration, upon such evidences and proofs as I am going to produce; whether the Hyperborean island, so much celebrated by antiquity, be not some one or more of the remotest islands: and particularly the great island of Lewis and Harries, with its appendages, and the adjacent island of Sky; which in every circumstance agree to the description that Diodorus Siculus gives of the island of the Hyperboreans. Let's mention some of those circumstances. He says* that the harp was there in great repute, as indeed it is still; every gentleman having one in his house, besides a multitude of harpers by profession, intertain'd gratis wherever they come. He tells us, that above all other Gods† they worship Apollo; which, in my first letter, I evidently show they did under the name of Belenus‡. He says further, that besides a magnificent sacred grove, Apollo's remarkable temple§ there was round, whereof I have given a particular description and

* Τῶν δὲ κατοικοῦντων αὐτὴν τοὺς πλείους εἶναι Κιθαρῖστας. *Lib. 2. pag. 130.*

† Τὸν Ἀπολλοῦ μαλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμασθαι. *Ibid.*

‡ In the Celtic language Beal and Bealan.

§ Ὑπαρχεῖν δὲ κατὰ τὴν νεῦον τεμένος τε Ἀπολλωνος μεγαλοπέρπες, καὶ ναθὴν ἀξιόθρογος, ἀναθημασί πολλοῖς κενόσκημενοι, σφαίροειδὴ τῷ σχηματί. *Ibid.*

plan in my second letter*, it subsisting in great part still. He affirms that they had a peculiar dialect, which in reality continues the same to this day; it being Earse, or the sixth among the Celtic dialects I enumerated in my first letter: and approaching so near to that of the Irish, that these and the islanders discourse together without any difficulty. But, omitting several other matters no less concordant, he adds, that the island was frequented of old by the Greeks†, and in friendship with them; which will be easily admitted, after perusing the fourth and fifth sections of this present letter, where I manifestly prove this intercourse. I very well know, that others, who are far from agreeing among themselves, do place the Hyberboreans elsewhere: nor am I ignorant that diverse, after the example of *Antonius Diogenes's Thulian Romance*‡, have endeavor'd to divert their readers, no less than themselves, with Hyperborean fictions; and so made such variations of site or circumstances, as best suited their several plans, to speak nothing of such as were grossly ignorant in geography. Allowances ought to be made for all these things. And the Hyperborean continent (which was questionless the most northern part of Scythia, or of Tartary and Muscovy, stretching quite to Scandinavia, or Sweden

* Section XI.

† Προς τους Έλληνας οικισματα διακεισθαι, &c. *Ibid.*

‡ See the last section.

and Norway) this Hyperborean continent, I say, must be carefully distinguish'd from the Hyperborean island; whose soil was more temperate and fertile, as its inhabitants more civiliz'd, harmless, and happy. But, to prevent all cavils, I declare before-hand, that as by Thule I mean onely that of Phytheas, or Iceland, and not the conjectures or mistakes of people that liv'd long after him; some making it to be Ireland, others Schetland (which I believe to be the Thule of Tacitus*) others the northermost part of Great Britain, and others other places†: so by the island of the Hyperboreans, I mean that describ'd by Diodorus Siculus after Hecateus and others, as being an island “in the ocean beyond Gaule to the north‡,” or under the Bear, where people liv'd with no less simplicity than indolence and contentment; and which Orpheus, or, if you please, Onomacritus, very rightly places near the Cronian§ or Dead sea. 'Tis by this situation, as hereafter more particularly mark'd, that I am willing to be

* Insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Despecta est et Thule, quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat. *In vita Agric. cap. 10.*

† See the *Essay concerning the Thule of the antients*, by Sir Robert Sibbald.

‡ ——— Εν ταις αντιπεραν της Κελτικής τοποις, κατα τον Ωμεανον, ειναί νησον, ηκ ελαττω της Σικελιας; ταυτην υπαρχειν μεν κατα τους αρχτους. *Lib. 2. pag. 130.*

§ ————— Κρονιοντε επικλησκουσι

Ποντον υπερωρεον μεροσκες νεκρητε θαλασσαν.

Argonaut. ver. 1079.

judg'd: showing it also to be an iland near the Scots, whether Hibernian or Albanian; who are, by Claudian*, made borderers on the Hyperborean sea. From this iland the Argonauts, after touching there coming out of the Cronian ocean, according to Orpheus, sail'd to † Ireland in the Atlantic ocean; and so to the pillars ‡ of Hercules, where they enter'd again into the Mediterranean §. No marks can be plainer, so there is no other iland (those of Faroe and Iceland excepted) but the northwest Brittish ilands, between the Cronian and the Atlantic ocean, as every one knows that has once look'd into a map; which expres situation of the Hyperborean iland, together with its being said by Diodorus to ly beyond the Gallic regions towards the north, or the Bear, the frequent use of the harp there, and the worship of Apollo in a round temple, amounts I think to as full a proof as any thing of this nature requires. Diodorus adds, in the place where I last quoted him, that the Hyperborean city and temple

* ————— Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

De 3 Cons. Honor. ver. 55.

† Ἀγκίαιος δ' Ὀϊακάς ἐπιστάμενος ἐτίτανε,
Παρ' δ' ἄρα νῆσον ἀμείβεν ἱερνίδα —————

Ibid. ver. 1178.

‡ Κύμα διαπρησσόντες, αἶα σῶμα τεργήσοιο
Ἰκομευθα, σήλαισι δ' ἐκδύσασιν Ἡρακλετες.

Ibid. ver. 1240.

§ Now the Straits of Gibraltar.

were always govern'd by the family of the* Bo-reads† who with no more probability were the descendants of Boreas, an imaginary person or deity, than the Hyperboreans were so call'd, *from being situated more northerly than the north-wind*‡: but in reality they were then, as they are still, govern'd by their chiefs or heads of tribes, whom they call'd in their own language Boireadhach; that is to say, the great ones, or powerful and valiant men, from *Borr*, antiently signifying grandeur and majesty§. The Greeks have in a thousand instances apply'd foren words to the very different sense of other words approaching to the same sound in their own language. Their first sailors into those parts gave the ilanders the name of *Hyperboreans*, from their lying *so far towards the north* with respect to the straights of Hercu-

* Βασιλευντε της πολως ταυτης, και τη τεμενους επαρχειν της ονομαζομενους. Boreadas, απογονους οντας βορεου, και καταγενης αιει διαδεχασθαι τας αρχας. *Lib. 2. pag. 130.*

† Boreades.

‡ Απο τη προσσωτερω κεισθαι της βορειου πνοης. *Lib. 2. pag. 130.*

§ As for these words *Borr* and *Buireadhach* or *Boinadhach* (the vowels *u* and *o* being with us most frequently put for each other) I might appeal to several authentic manuscripts, but, because such are not obvious to many, I chuse rather to refer my readers to the *Seánasan núadh*, or printed vocabulary of obsolete words by O'Clery, and to Lhudy's printed *Irish-English Dictionary*: so that these words are no children of fancy, as but too frequently happens in etymologies. From the same root are *Borrogach* courageous, and *Borrthoradh* awe or worship, with the like.

les*, for which I have indisputable authorities; and after having once thus stil'd them, they greedily catch'd at the allusive sound of their leaders or magistrates, Grecizing those grandees, or Boir-eadhach, into Boreades: which was literally understood in Greece of the fabulous descendants of Boreas, very consonantly to their mythology, or, if you will, to their theology. But I noted before†, that Plato, in his *Cratylus*, was of opinion‡ the Greeks had borrow'd many words from the barbarians; “especially,” adds he, “such of the Greeks as liv'd in the barbarian territories:” which may be fairly suppos'd to include those who navigated, or that drove any traffic among them. And hence the divine philosopher himself draws this accurat§ inference, “that if any man wou'd indeavor to adjust the etymologies of those words with the Grec language, and not rather seek for them in that to which they originally belong, he must needs be at a loss.” 'Tis farther most deserving observation, that Eratosthenes, an antient chronologer and geographer of vast reputation for learning, speaking of Apollo's famous *arrow*, with which he slew the Cyclopes, and in honor of which one of the constellations is

* Now of Gibraltar.

† Letter II. Section V.

‡ Εννοω γαρ, οτε πολλα οι Ελληνες ονοματα, αλλως τε και οι υπο τοις βαρβαροις εισωγτες, παρα των βαρβαρων ειληφασι. *Inter Opera, Edit. Paris. Vol. 1. pag. 409.*

§ Ει τις ζητοι ταυτα κατα την 'Ελληνικην φωνην ως εοικोटως κειται, αλλα μη κατ' εκεινην εξ ης το νομα τυγχανει ον, οισθα οτι αποροι αν. *Ibid.*

so call'd, says that* “he hid it among the Hyperboreans, where there is his temple made of wings, or a winged temple,” the words being capable of both senses. If the latter was the meaning of Eratosthenes, we have already given the description of such a winged temple, yet standing there: and if the former, no place under heaven cou'd furnish more feathers, nor of more various kinds, to adorn men or buildings, than those same ilands; where many of the inhabitants pay their rent with them, and make a considerable profit besides. For this reason perhaps, and not from its promontories, the Ile of Skie is in the language of the natives call'd *Scianach*†, or the winged iland, whereof the English name *Skie* is an abbreviation or corruption. Now, if the Hebrides were the Hyperboreans of Diodorus (as I fancy it can scarce hereafter be doubted) then the most celebrated Abaris was both of that country and likewise a Druid, having been the‡ priest of Apollo, Suidas, who knew not the distinction of insular Hyperboreans, makes him a Scythian; as do some others misled by the same vulgar error, tho' Diodorus has truly fix'd his country in the iland, not

* Εκρυψε δὲ αὐτὴ [τὸ τοξικόν] ἐν υπερβόρειοις, ἐν καὶ ὁ ναὸς ὁ πτερυγός. *In Catasterismis, inter Opuscula Mythologica et Physica. Edit. Amst. pag. 124.*

† Oilean Scianach.

‡ Το μὲν γὰρ ὅτι τὸν μῆρον χρυσοῦν ἐπέδειξεν Ἀβαρίδι τῷ Ὑπερβόρειῳ, αἰμασάντι αὐτοῦ Ἀπολλῶνα εἶναι τὸν ἐν Ὑπερβόρειοις, οὐπερ ἦν ἱερεὺς ὁ Ἀβάρης, βεβαιῶντα ὡς τοῦτο ἀληθὲς τετυβύλληται. *Porphyrus in vita Pythagoræ. Eadem, et iisdem equidem verbis habet Jamblichus, Lib. 1. cap. 28.*

on the continent. And indeed their fictions or blunders are infinite concerning our *Abaris*. This is certain however among 'em all, that he travell'd quite over Greece*, and from thence into Italy, where he familiarly convers'd with Pythagoras; who favor'd him beyond all his disciples, by imparting his doctrines to him (especially his thoughts of nature) in a more compendious and plainer method, than to any others. This distinction cou'd not but highly redound to the advantage of *Abaris*. For, the reasons of Pythagoras's backwardness and retention in communicating his doctrines, being, in the first place, that he might eradicate (if possible) out of the minds of his disciples all vitious and turbulent passions, forming them by degrees to a habit of virtue, which is the best preparative for receiving truth; as, next, to fit them, by a competent knowlege of the mathematical sciences, for reasoning with exactness about those higher contemplations of nature, into which they were to be initiated; and, lastly, to have repeated proofs of their discretion in concealing such important discoveries from the *ignorant* and the *wicked*, the latter being unworthy, and the former incapable of true philosophy: it follows, therefore, that he judg'd *Abaris* already sufficiently prepared in all these respects, and so he oblig'd him with an immediate communication of his most inward sen-

* Ωσαυτως δε και εκ των υπερβορεων Αβαριν εις την Έλλαδα καταγησεν ο παλαιος, &c. *Ubi supra.*

timents; conceal'd from others under the veil of numbers, or of some other enigmatical symbols! The Hyperborean in return presented the Samian, as if he had equall'd Apollo himself in wisdom, with the *sacred arrow*; riding astride which he's fabulously reported by the Grec writers, to have flown in the air over rivers and lakes, forests and mountains: as our vulgar still believe, and not where more than in the Hebrides, that wizards and witches waft whither they please upon broomsticks. But what was hid under this romantic expedition, with the true meaning of the *arrow* itself, the nature of the predictions that Abaris spread in Greece, and the doctrines that he learnt at Crotona; with the conceit of these Hyperbo-reans that Latona the mother of Apollo, was born among them, nay that he was so too, and their most exact astronomical cycle of nineteen years: these particulars, I say, you'll read at large in my *History of the Druids*, stript of all fable and disguise; as well as a full discussion of the question (about which antient writers are divided) "whether the Druids learnt their* symbolical and enigmatical method of teaching, together with the doctrine of transmigration from Pythagoras, or that this philosopher had borrow'd these particulars from the Druids?" The communication between them was easy enough, not only by means

* Καὶ φασὶ τοὺς μὲν Γυμνοσοφίας καὶ Δρυϊδᾶς αἰνιγματώδως ἀποφθεγγόμενους φιλοφρονεῖν. *Diogen. Laert. in proœm. Sect. 6.*

of such travellers as Pythagoras and Abaris, but also by the nearness of Gaul to Italy: tho' there will still remain another question, viz. whether the Egyptians had not these things before either of them; and therefore whether they did not both receive them from the Egyptians?

VIII. Yet before all things we must here examine what can be offer'd, with any color, against our account of the Hyperborean island; after that so many circumstances, and particularly the situation, seem to point demonstratively to the true place: nor certainly, when things are duely consider'd, will the objections that have been started in private conversation (as I know of no other that can be publickly made) be found to have the least difficulty. Thule or Iceland, rightly plac'd by Claudian in the Hyperborean* climate, besides the incongruities of the soil and the intemperateness of the air, is distinguish'd by Diodorus himself from the island in question: and the iles of Faroe, being onely a parcel of barren rocks of very small extent, without any monument of antiquity, deserve not so much as to be mention'd on this occasion. Neither indeed has any of my acquaintance insisted on either of these. But Diodorus (says one of 'em) tho' exactly agreeing to

* —————Te, quò libet, ire, sequemur :

Te vel Hyperboreo damnatam sidere Thulen,

Te vel ad incensas Libyæ comitabor arenas.

In Rufin. lib. 2.

your situation or that of Orpheus, and that your other circumstances do perfectly tally to this description: yet is different in this, that he speaks onely of one iland, not less than Sicily*; where as you understand this of several ilands, which altogether have scarce that extent. I answer, that the marks of the right place which I have mentioned already, and such others as I shall presently alledge, will more than counterbalance any mistake (if there be any) about the bigness of the iland. Travellers and mariners, who either have not been ashore or not staid long enough in any place to survey it, are known to speak onely by guess, and frequently very much at random. Has not Great Britain itself (so much celebrated, as Pliny justly writes†, by the Greec and Roman authors) been taken to be of vast extent, and not certainly known by the Romans to be an iland, till the time of Vespasian‡? Endless examples of this kind might easily be produc'd. And as for the multitude of those ilands, which are separated onely by narrow channels, it makes nothing at all against me. For, besides that such an aggregation of ilands is often taken in common speech for onely one; as not to go out of our own dominions, such is Schetland, in name one country, but in effect consisting of more than 30 ilands: so there are several indications, join'd to the tra-

* Οὐκ ἁπλῶς τὰς Σικελίας. *Ubi supra.*

† See Section III.

‡ See Section V.

dition of the inhabitants (of which see Dr. Martin in his *Account of Saint Kilda* and elsewhere) that some of those western ilands have been formerly united, and many of them nearer each other than at present. However, taking them as they now are, Lewis, otherwise call'd *the long iland*, being at least a hundred miles in length*, Skie forty, several of the rest above four and twenty each, and all appearing as one iland (having many winding bays or inlets) to one who sails without them, or that touches onely at some of the greatest; considering this, I say, the mistake will not be reckon'd so enormous in a sailor or stranger, if he compares them in the lump to Sicily for extent. Another person granting all this, objects that Diodorus represents the Hyperborean iland a very temperate† region; which, according to my friend, cannot be said of any place in the northern latitude of 58, and partly of 59. But whoever has travell'd far himself, or read the relations of such as have, will be convinc'd that the seasons in every region of the world, do not always answer to their position: of which the causes are various, as huge

* I reckon as Dr. Martin and the natives do, from the most northerly point of Lewis to Bernera south of Barra, this string of islands being onely divided by channels mostly fordable; and if it be consider'd that I make use of Scottish miles, every place is at least a third part more, according to the English or Italian measure.

† Ουσαν δ' αυτην ευρειονη και παμφοραν, εις δε ευκρασια διαφερουσαν, δελλονς καλος επιφειν καρπον. *Ubi supra.*

ridges of mountains, the neighbourhood of vast lakes or marches, winds blowing from places cover'd with snow, or the like. Thus Britain and Ireland are known, not onely to be much more temperate than the places on the continent of the same position with them, but even than some of such as are more southerly; by reason of the salt vapors and continual agitations of the surrounding ocean, which dissolve, allay, and mitigate the frosts and winds blowing from the continent. This holds as true with regard to the Hebrides, which by experience are allow'd to be yet more temperate; the snow not lying near so long as in Britain, and a tepid vapor being very sensible there in the midst of winter. This was enough to fill the Greec sailors with admiration, which to us ought to be none; since their learned men often spoke of many places, not as they actually were in themselves, but as in their speculations they imagin'd they ought to be: without considering whether there might not occur some of the diversifying circumstances we have just now hinted, or any others begetting the like influences. But that most sagacious interpreter of nature, Hippocrates, knew better things, when he taught what he learnt by experience (having been an ilander himself) that ilands situated far* in the sea, are kindly

* Τῶν δὲ νήσων, αἱ μὲν ἐγγὺς τῶν ὑπερίων, δυσχέιμερῶτεραι εἰσιν; αἱ δὲ ποντιαί, εὐλεινότεραι τὸν χειμῶνα: διότι αἱ χιονεὶς καὶ παγοὶ ἐν μὲν τῇσιν ὑπερίοισιν εἰχουσι ῥασιν, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα ψυχρὰ πεμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐγγὺς νήσους. Τὰ δὲ πελάγια οὐκ εἰχέῃ ῥασιν ἐν χειμῶνι. *De Diata, lib. 2. cap. 3.*

warm, and that no snow can lie on them in winter; while such as are near the shore become scarce habitable for cold, by reason of the snow and ice remaining on the continent, which from thence transmit bleak winds into those islands. The antients, who judg'd of places where they never were by their bare positions, did consequently enough from thence conclude the torrid zone to be inhabitable: but since this zone has not onely been frequently visited, but is daily penetrated to the temperate and cold zones beyond it, 'tis not onely found every where inhabited; but those breezes and showers, with other causes, that make living there very comfortable, are the common themes of philosophers. This brings me to the last, and seemingly the strongest objection, viz. that the Hyperborean island of Diodorus, or rather of Hecateus and others long before him, was so plentiful as to have two crops a year*. Yet this expression, upon a fair construction, will be so far from embarrassing, that it will highly illustrate my explication. It onely signifies great plenty and abundance, which I cou'd instance by many passages of the antients; but shall chuse the nearest home I can, and that is what Virgil† says of Italy:

* Read the *Note* immediately preceding, bateing one.

† Hic ver assiduum, atque alienis mensibus æstas;

Bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.

Georgic. lib. 2.

Perpetual spring our happy climate sees,
Twice breed the cattle, and twice bear the trees ;
And summer suns recede by slow degrees.

}

Dryden's Translation.

But who is ignorant, that this is not literally true? and as to the plenty meant by it in general, 'tis certain that no country abounds more with the necessaries of life, and at less labor or charge, than the Hebrides. I shall dwell so much the longer on this head, as my history may possibly reach further than the Celtic nations. Wherefore, in the first place, there is known to be in those islands a prodigious plenty of flesh and fish. Their cattle of all sorts (as cows, sheep, goats, and hogs) are exceeding numerous and prolific: small indeed of size, as are likewise their horses, but of a sweet and delicious taste. So are their deer, which freely range in herds on the mountains. No place can compare with this for tame and wild fowl, there being of the latter no where in the world a greater diversity, many sorts of 'em extremely beautiful or rare, and utterly unknown elsewhere. The like may be said of their various amphibious animals. Numberless are their fountains and springs, rivulets, rivers, and lakes, very wholesom in their waters, and every where superabounding with fish, especially the most delicate, as trout and salmon: nor is it by herrings alone that all Europe knows no seas to be better stor'd, nor with more kinds, from the shrimp to the

whale; as no harbors or bays are superior, whether regard be had to number or commodiousness. Add to this their variety of excellent roots and plants, particularly those of marine growth, every one of them serving for food or physic. Their pastures are so kindly, that they might live on milk alone, with that inconceivable quantity of eggs they yearly gather of the desert rocks and ilets. But flesh and fish, milk-meats, eggs, and salads in the greatest abundance (some will be apt to say) are slender and comfortless food without the staff of bread. On this assertion, tho' I might fairly dispute it from the practice of whole nations, and the experience of particular persons no strangers to me, I will not however insist; bread, among their other productions, being plentiful enough in the Hebrides, which sometimes cannot be said of the neighbouring islands. The ground is generally allow'd to be much richer than on the Scottish continent, some parts whereof are not seldom supply'd hence with corn*: and I have also such proofs of it from Dr. Martin (who, when he wrote his *Description of those Islands*, was far from dreaming of the Hyperboreans) as will sufficiently justify the expression of Diodorus about their crops or harvests. Lewis is very fruitful: and tho' barley, oats, and rye, be the only grain sown there at present: yet the ground both in that, and in most of the other islands† is fit to bear

* See Dr. Martin's *Description*, page 140. † Page 53, 337, &c.

wheat, and consequently legumes of all sorts. 'Tis truly amazing they have any crop at all, considering how unskilful they are in agriculture, how destitute of the properest instruments to till the ground, and that they scarce use any other manure but sea-wrack or tangles. From the ignorance of the inhabitants in these respects, as also in planting, inclosing, and draining, many fruitful spots ly uncultivated: but the abundance of choice eatables (and namely the most nourishing shell-fish of various kinds) with which they are richly supply'd by bountiful nature, contributes more than any thing to that indolence, which the antient Greecs esteem'd their happiness. The goodness of the soil appears by nothing more evidently, than by the want of cultivation, whereof I have been just complaining. Dr. Martin, who was an ey-witness, and strictly examin'd the fact, affirms* that in Bernera, near Harries, the produce of barley is many times from twenty to thirty-fold; that in Harries and South-Uist† one barley-grain sometimes produces from seven to fourteen ears, as in North-Uist from ten to thirty-fold‡ in a plentiful year: that at Corchattan, in Skie, the increase§ amounted once to thirty-five; that if the ground be laid down for some time, it gives a good crop|| without dunging, some fields not having been dung'd in forty years; and that he was in-

* Page 42. † Ibid. ‡ Page 53. § Page 132. || Page 139.

form'd a small track of ground, at Skerry-breck * in the said ile of Skie, had yielded a hundred-fold. Nay, I have been told myself by a native of that ile, that the people there believe they might have two crops a year, if they took due pains. For this I beg'd their pardon, but allow'd what was tantamount, since the words of Diodorus may no less justly be render'd *a double crop*, than *two crops* †, which last, however, is in some respects literally true. For with regard to their pastures (of which somewhat before) nothing is more common than for a sheep to have two lambs ‡ at a time. This not onely confirms my construction, and puts me in mind of that verse in Virgil §,

She suckles twins, and twice a day is milk'd:

but also of what the so often mention'd Dr. Martin relates on this || occasion; which is, that besides the ordinary rent a tenant paid, it was a custom in the ilands, if any of his cows or sheep brought two young ones at a time, one of them was to go to the landlord: who, on his part, was oblig'd, if any of his tenant's wives bore twins, to take one of them into his own family; and that he himself knew a gentleman, who had sixteen of these twins in his house at a time. 'Tis no wonder they are populous. Even the wild goats on the mountains, for such there are in Harries, are

* Ibid. † Διπλous καρπους. ‡ Page 108. § Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere factus. *Eclog.* 3. *ver.* 20. || Page 109.

observ'd to bring* forth their young twice a year: all which put together, makes the last objection against me to be none, and therefore finally justifies my explication of the passage in Diodorus. From hence 'tis evident, My Lord, that those islands are capable of great improvement, as they abound likewise in many curiosities, especially in subjects of philosophical observation. Nor is it less plain by the many antient monuments remaining among them, and the marks of the plow reaching to the very tops of the mountains (which the artless inhabitants think incapable of culture) that in remote ages they were in a far more flourishing condition than at present. The ruins of spacious houses, and the numerous obelisks, old forts, temples, altars, with the like, which I have describ'd † before, undeniably prove this: besides that the country was formerly full of woods, as appears by the great oak and fir trees daily dug out of the ground, and by many other tokens; there being several small woods and coppices still remaining in Skie, Mull, and other places. Tho' I don't pretend, no more than Diodorus, that these were *the fortunate islands* of the poets, or the *elyzian-fields* of the dead, by some plac'd in those‡ seas, as by others elsewhere; yet the following

* Page 35.

† Letter II. Sections VIII, IX, X, &c.

‡ Videas Annotationem 63 & 64.

lines of Horace* agree to no spot better, than the islands we have been just describing.

From lofty hills
 With murmuring pace the fountain trills.
 There goats uncall'd return from fruitful vales,
 And bring stretch'd dugs to fill the pails.
 No bear grins round the fold, no lambs he shakes;
 No field swells there with poys'nous snakes.
 More we shall wonder on the happy plain:
 The watr'y east descends in rain,
 Yet so as to refresh, not drown the fields;
 The temperate glebe full harvest yields.
 No heat annoys: the ruler of the gods
 From plagues secures these blest abodes.

Creech's translation.

The inhabitants, (that I may make a complete commentary on the passage of Diodorus) are not to be mended in the proportion of their persons: no preposterous bandages distorting them in the cradle, nor hindring nature from duely forming their limbs;

*

 Montibus altis
 Levis crepante lymphæ desilit pede.
 Illic injussæ veniunt ad mulctra capellæ,
 Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera.
 Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
 Nec intumescit alta viperis humus.
 Pluraque felices mirabimur: ut neque largis
 Aquosus Eurus arva radat imbris,
 Pinguis nec siccis urantur semina glebis;
 Utrumque Rege temperante Cœlitum.

Epod. 16. ver. 47.

which is the reason, that bodily imperfections of any sort are very rare among them. Neither does any over-officiously preventive physic in their infancy, spoil their original constitution; whence they have so strong a habit of body, that one of them requires treble the dose, as will purge any man in the south of Scotland. But what contributes above all things to their health and longevity, is constant temperance and exercise. As they prefer conveniency to ornament both in their houses and their apparel (which last I think not disagreeable) so, in their way of eating and drinking, they rather satisfy than oppress nature. Their food is commonly fresh, and their meals two a day, water being the ordinary drink of the vulgar. They are strangers to many of the distempers, as they are to most of the vices of other nations, for some of which they have not so much as a name: and it may no less truly be observ'd of these than of the ancient Scythians, that* the ignorance of vices has had a better effect upon them, than the knowlege of philosophy upon politer nations. They owe every thing to nature. They cure all disorders of the body by simples of their own growth, and by proper diet or labor. Hence they are stout and active, dextrous in all their exercises; as they are withall remarkably sagacious, choleric but easily appeaz'd, sociable, good natur'd,

* Tantò plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his. [Græcis Nimirum] cognitio virtutis. *Justin. Hist. lib. 2. cap 2.*

ever cheerful, and having a strong inclination to music: all which particulars, with the other parts of their past and present character, I have not onely learnt from the concurrent testimonies of several judicious authors; but also from the intimate knowlege I have had myself of many scores of the natives, as well in Scotland as elsewhere. They are hospitable beyond expression, intertaining all strangers of what condition soever gratis; the use of money being still in some of those islands unknown, and till a few ages past in all of them. They have no lawyers or attorneys: which, no more than several other particulars here specify'd, I do not understand of the Highlanders on the continent; tho' speaking the same language, and wearing the same dress with them. The men and women plead their own causes; and a very speedy decision is made by the proprietor, who's perpetual president in their courts, or by his bailiff as his substitute. In a word, they are equally void of the two chief plagues of mankind, luxury and ambition; which consequently frees them from all those restless pursuits, consuming toils, and never-failing vexations, that men suffer elsewhere for those airy, trifling, shortliv'd vanities. Their contempt of superfluities is falsly reckon'd poverty, since their felicity consists not in having much, but in coveting little; and that he's supremely rich, who wants no more than he has: for as they, who live according to nature, will never be poor; so they,

who live according to opinion, will never be rich. 'Tis certain that no body wants, what he does not desire: and how much easier is it not to desire certain things, than otherwise? as it is far more healthy and happy to want, than to enjoy them. Neither is their ignorance of vices in these ilands any diminution to their virtue, since (not being by their situation concern'd in any of the disputes about dominion or commerce, that distract the world) they are not onely rigid observers of justice, but show less propensity than any people to tumults; except what they may be unwarily led into by the extraordinary deference they pay to the opinion of their chiefs and leaders, who are accountable for the mischiefs they sometimes bring (as at this very time*) on these well-meaning Hyperboreans. For Hyperboreans I will now presume to call them, and withall to claim Abaris as a philosopher of the Brittish world, which has principally occasion'd this digression; on that account not improper, nor, I hope, altogether useless in other respects. Be this as your lordship shall think fit to judge, I will not finish it before I have acquainted you with an odd custom or two, that have from time immemorial obtain'd in Barra and the lesser circumjacent ilands, which are the property of Mac-neil. The present is the thirty-fifth lord of Barra by uninterrupted lineal descent, a

* 1719.

thing whereof no prince in the world can boast; and he's regarded, you may imagine, as no mean potentate by his subjects, who know none greater than he. When the wife of any of 'em dies, he has immediate recourse to his lord, representing first his own loss in the want of a meet help*; and next that of Mac-neil himself, if he should not go on to beget followers for him. Hereupon Mac-neil finds out a suteable match (neither side ever disliking his choice, but accepting it as the highest favor) and the marriage is celebrated without any courtship, portion or dowry, But they never fail to make merry on such occasions with a bottle or more of usquebah. On the other hand†, when any woman becomes a widdow, she's upon the like application soon provided with a husband, and with as little ceremony. Whoever may dislike this Hyperborean manner of preventing delay, disdain, or disappointment, yet he cannot but approve Mac-neil's conduct, in supplying‡ any of his tenants with as many milch-cows, as he may chance to lose by the severity of the weather, or by other misfortunes; which is not the less true charity, for being good policy. Most worthy likewise of imitation is his taking into his own family (building a house hard by on purpose for them) and maintaining to the day of their death, as many old men, as, thro' age or infirmity§, become unfit

* Martin, page 97.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Page 98.

for labor. But I shou'd never have done, if I proceeded with the particular usages of the north and west ilanders. Several of them retain'd from the remotest times of the Druids, are explain'd in this and the preceding letters. Yet one custom (very singular) I cannot help relating here, tho' long since grown obsolete; or rather that it has been in disuse, ever since their conversion to christianity. When a man had a mind to have a wife*, as soon as he gain'd the consent of the maid he lik'd, he took her to his bed and board for a whole year; and if, upon thus coming thoroly acquainted with the conditions both of her mind and body, he kept her any longer, she then became his wife all her days: but if he dislik'd her to such a degree on any account, as to be perswaded she shou'd not make him easy during life, he return'd her (with her portion, if she had any) at the twelve month's end to her parents or guardians; legitimating the children, and maintaining them at his own charge, in case there were such. Nor was this repudiation any dishonor or disadvantage to the young woman in the eyes of another man, who thought she wou'd make him a better wife, or that he might to her be a better husband. It was a custom, I must own, like to prevent a world of unhappy matches; but, according to our modern ideas, 'tis not onely unlawful, but also barbarous.

IX. To return whence I digress'd, having thus happily discover'd and asserted the country of Abaris, and also his profession of a Druid; I shall give here some account of his person, referring to another place the history of his adventures. The orator Himerius, tho' one of those, who, from the equivocal sense of the word Hyperborean, seems to have mistaken him for a Scythian; yet accurately describes his person, and gives him a very noble character. That he spoke Grec with so much facility and elegance, will be no matter of wonder to such as consider the antient intercourse, which we have already prov'd between the Greeks and the Hyperboreans: nor wou'd the latter, to be sure, send any ambassador (as we'll see presently they did Abaris) to the former, unless, among the other requisite qualifications, he perfectly understood their language. But let's harken a while to Himerius. "They relate," says he, "that Abaris the sage was by nation a Hyperborean, become a Grecian in speech, and resembling a Scythian in his habit and appearance. Whenever he mov'd his tongue, you wou'd imagine him to be some one out of the midst of the academy or very lyceum*. Now that his habit was not that of a Scythian ever cover'd with skins, but

* Αβαριν μὲν σοφὸν γένος μὲν Ὑπερβορείων λεγούσιν, Ἕλληνα δὲ φωνὴν γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ Σκυθὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ σχήματος. Εἰ δὲ πού τις γλωττίαν κινήσει, τοῦτο ἐκείνου ἐκ ἀκαδημαίας καὶ αὐτοῦ Λυκείου νομιζέσθαι. *Ex Oratione ad Ursicium apud Photium in Biblioth. cod. 243, edit. Rothemag. pag. 1133.*

what has been in all ages, as generally at this present, worn in the Hebrides and the neighboring Highlands, it needs onely to be describ'd for removing all doubts and scruples. “Abaris came to Athens,” continues Himerius*, “holding a bow, having a quiver hanging from his shoulders, his body wrapt up in a plad, girt about his loins with a gilded belt, and wearing trowzers reaching from the soles of his feet to his waste.” A gun and pistol, being of modern date, cou'd make no part of his equipage: and you see he did not make his entry into Athens riding on a broom-stick, as fabulously reported, but in the native garb of an aboriginal Scot. As for what regards his abilities, 'twas impossible for his principals to have made a better choice; since we are inform'd by the same Himerius†, that “he was affable and pleasant in conversation, in dispatching great affairs secret and industrious, quick-sighted in present exigences, in preventing future dangers circumspect, a searcher after wisdom, desirous of friendship, trusting indeed little to fortune, and having every thing trusted to him for his prudence.” Neither the academy nor the lyceum cou'd furnish out a man with fitter qualities, to go

* Ἦκεν Αβάρης Ἀθηναζέ'τοξά εχών, φαρετραν ἡμμενος εἰς ὤμων, χλαμυδι σφιγγόμενος: ζῶνῃ ἢν κατ' ἐξῆν χρευσθῇ, αναξυρίδες ἐκ τάρσων ἀκρῶν ἀχρι καὶ γλουτῶν ἀνατείνουσαι. *Id. Ibid.*

† Ἦν ἡδὺς ἐντυχεῖν, δεινὸς ψυχῇ μεγάλῃν πράξιν ἐργασασθαι, οἷος τὸ παρὲν ἰδεῖν, προμηθεὺς τὸ μέλλον φυλαττέσθαι, σοφίας ἡτῶν, ερασιφιλίας, ὀλίγα μὲν τύχῃ πιστεύων, γνώμῃ δὲ τὰ πάντα πιστούμενος. *Id. Ibid.*

so farr abroad and to such wise nations, about affairs no less arduous than important. But if we attentively consider his moderation in eating, drinking, and the use of all those things, which our natural appetites incessantly crave; adding the candor and simplicity of his manners, with the solidity and wisdom of his answers (all which we'll find sufficiently attested) it must be own'd, that the world at that time had few to compare with Abaris.

Thus I have laid before your lordship a specimen of my *History of the Druids*. Give me leave to send you with this letter two small pieces which I don't doubt will be agreeable to you. One is *Mr. Jones's Answer to Mr. Tate's questions about the Druids, and the other Brittish antiquities*, which I transcrib'd from a manuscript in the Cotton Library*; and the other, some collections mentione'd in one of my letters†, shewing the affinity between the Armoric and Irish language, &c. —I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

And very humble Servant,

April 18, 1719.

* Vitel. E. v. 6.

† Letter II. §. 18. pag. 159.

MR. TATE'S QUESTIONS
ABOUT THE
DRUIDS,
AND OTHER
BRITISH ANTIQUITIES,
WITH
MR. JONES'S ANSWER TO THEM.

MR. TATE'S QUESTIONS.

I. **BY** what names were they call'd by the Brittons, which the Latins call *Druidæ* or *Druides*?

II. Whether the Druids and Flamens were all one, and the difference between them? how the Flamens were called in Brittish, and their antiquity and habits?

III. What degrees were given to the professors of learning? when, where, and by whom, and their habits or apparel?

IV. Whether the Barth had any office in war answering our heralds? their garments and ensigns? and whether they us'd the *Caduceus*? many fetching the original thereof from the Britton's charming of serpents.

V. What judges and lawyers had the Brittons that follow'd the king? and what are *Tri anhep-cor Brenhin*, and their use?

VI. What judges and lawyers were there resident in the country? their number? what judges were there *per dignitatem Terrae*? and what their duty? and how were they assembl'd to do the same?

VII. It appeareth there were always many kings and princes in this realm before the coming in of the Saxons: were their countries divided into *Tu-laihs*, as all between Severn and the sea was after their coming?

VIII. Was there any division into shires before the Saxon's coming, and what difference betwixt a shire and a *Swydh*? There were anciently with you *Maenors*, *Commods*, *Cantreths*, answerable whereunto are our *Manors*, *Tythings*, *Hundreds*. And that maketh me to encline that *Swydh* shou'd be like our shire, as *Swyd caer Bhyrdin*, *Swyd Amcythig*, *Swyd caer Wrangon*; and the general officers of them were called *Swydogion*, under whom were *Maer*, *Gnghellawr*, *Rhinghill*, *Ophiriat*, and *Brawdur truyr Swyd*, except all bear the name of *Swydogion*. I find in an ancient book of Landaff *Gluiguais* or *Glivisus* king of Demetia (which of this king is call'd *Glenguissig*) of whom it is said *septem pagos rexit*, whereof *Glamorgan*, now a shire, was one; and *pagus* is us'd for a shire.

IX. Whether the Britons had noblemen bearing the name of *Duces*, *Comites*, *Barones*? and what they were called in Brittish? In the book of *Lan-daff* I find it thus written, *Gandeleius Rex totam regionem suam Cadoco filio suo commendavit, privilegiumque concessit, quatenus a fonte Faennun haen donec ad ingressum fluminis Nadavan pervenitur, omnes Reges et Comites, Optimates, Tribuni, atque domestici in Coenobij sui coemeterio de Lancarvan sepeliantur.* And K. Ed. I. enquiring of the laws of the Brittons, demandeth how the Welsh barons did administer justice, and so distinguisht them from *Lords Marchers*.

X. What is the signification of the word *Assach*? A statute of K. Hen. 6, saith, some offer'd to excuse themselves by an *Assach* after the custom of Wales; that is to say, by an oath of 30 men.

XI. What officer is he that in the laws of *Howel Da* is called *Distein*, and the signification of the word?

XII. What do you think of this place of Petrus Ramus in his book *de moribus veterum Gallorum: Hae civitates Brutos suos habebant. Sic a Caesare nominantur Senatus Eburonicum, Lexobiorum, Venetorum.* Was there any counsil or senate in the Brittish government, and by what name were they call'd?

MR. JONES'S ANSWERS TO MR. TATE'S QUESTIONS.

I. TO the first I say, that *Druides* or *Druidæ* is a word that is derived from the British word *Drudion*; being the name of certain wise, discreet, learned, and religious persons among the Brittons. *Drudion* is the plural number of this primitive word *Drud*. By adding *ion* to the singular number, you make the plural of it *secundum formam Britannorum*; sic *Drud*, *Drudion*. This primitive word *Drud*, has many significations. One signification is *Dialwr*, that is a revenger, or one that redresseth wrong: for so the justicers call'd *Drudion* did supply the place of magistrates. Another signification *Krevlon*, and that signifies cruel and merciless; for they did execute justice most righteously, and punisht offenders most severely. *Drud* signifies also *glew* and *prid*, that is, valiant or hardy. *Drud* is also dear or precious, unde venit *Drudanieth*, which is dearth. These *Drudion* among the Brittons by their office did determine all kind of matters as well private as publick, and where justicers as well in religious matters and controversies, as in law matters and controversies, for offences of death and title of laws. These did the sacrifices to the Heathen gods, and the sacrifices cou'd not be made without them, and they did forbid sacrifices to be done by any

man that did not obey their decree and sentence. All the arts, sciences, learning, philosophy, and divinity that was taught in the land, was taught by them; and they taught by memory, and never wou'd that their knowledge and learning shou'd be put in writing: whereby when they were supprest by the emperor of Rome in the beginning of christianity, their learning, arts, laws, sacrifices, and governments were lost and extinguisht here in this land; so that I can find no more mention of any of their deeds in our tongue than I have set down, but that they dwelled in rocks and woods, and dark places, and some places in our land had their names from them, and are called after their names to this day. And the iland of Mone or Anglesea is taken to be one of their chieftest seats in Britain, because it was a solitary iland full of wood, and not inhabited of any but themselves; and then the ile of Mone, which is called Anglesea, was called *yr Inys Dowyll*, that is, the dark iland. And after that the *Drudion*, were supprest, the huge groves which they favor'd and kept a-foot, were rooted up, and that ground till'd. Then that iland did yield such abundance and plenty of corn, that it might sustain and keep all Wales with bread; and therefore there arose then a proverb, and yet is to this day, viz. *Mon mam Gymbrv*, that is, *Mon* the mother of Wales. Somedo term the proverb thus, *Mon mam Wynedd*, that is, *Mon* the mother of Northwales, that is,

that *Mon* was able to nourish and foster upon bread all Wales or Northwales. And after that this dark iland had cast out for many years such abundance of corn where the disclos'd woods and groves were, it surceas'd to yield corn, and yielded such plenty of grass for cattle, that the countrymen left off their great tilling, and turn'd it to grazing and breeding of cattle, and that did continue among them wonderful plentiful, so that it was an admirable thing to be heard, how so little a plat of ground shou'd breed such great number of cattle; and now the inhabitants do till a great part of it, and breed a great number of cattle on t'other part.

II. As for the second question, I do refer the exposition of it to those that have written of the Flamens in Latine. The *Drudion* in Britain, according to their manner and custom, did execute the office and function of the Flamens beyond the sea: and as for their habits, I cannot well tell you how, nor what manner they were of.

III. To the third question: There were four several kinds of degrees, that were given to the professors of learning. The first was, *Disgibliysbas*, and that was given a man after three years studying in the art of poetry and musick, if he by his capacity did deserve it. The second degree was *Disgibldisgybliaidd*, and that was given to the professor of learning after six years studying, if he did deserve it. The third degree was *Disgibl-*

penkerddiaidd, and that was given to the professor of learning after nine years studying, if he did deserve it. And the fourth degree was *Penkerdd* or *Athro*, and *Athro* is the highest degree of learning among us, and in Latine is called doctor. All these degrees were given to men of learning, as well poets as musicians. All these foresaid degrees of learning were given by the king, or in his presence in his palace, at every three years end, or by a licence from him in some fit place thereunto (appointed) upon an open disputation had before the king or his deputy in that behalf, and then they were to have their reward according to their degrees. Also there were three kinds of poets. The one was *Prududd*: the other was *Tevluwr*: the third was *Klerwr*. These three kinds had three several matters to treat of. The *Prududd* was to treat of lands, and the praise of princes, nobles, and gentlemen, and had his circuit among them. The *Tevluwr* did treat of merry jests, and domestical pastimes and affairs, having his circuit among the countrymen, and his reward according to his calling. The *Clerwr* did treat of invective and rustical poetry, differing from the *Prududd* and *Tevluwr*; and his circuit was among the yeomen of the country. As for their habits, they were certain long apparel down to the calf of their leggs, or somewhat lower, and were of diverse colours.

IV. To the fourth question I say, the Bard was

a herald to record all the acts of the princes and nobles, and to give arms according to deserts. They were also poets, and cou'd prognosticate certain things, and gave them out in metre. And further there were three kinds of *Beirdd* (the plural of *Bardd*) viz. *Privardd*, *Poswardd*, *Arwyddvardd*. The *Priveirdd* (plurally) were *Merlin Silvester*, *Merlin Ambrosius*, and *Taliessin*; and the reason they were call'd *Priveirdd* was, because they invented and taught such philosophy and other learning as were never read or heard of by any man before. The interpretation of this word *Privardd* is prince, or first learner, or learned man: for *Bardd* was an appellation of all learned men, and professors of learning, and prophets, as also were attributed to them the titles of *Privardd*, *Posvardd*, and *Arwyddvardd*, *Bardd Telyn*. And they call *Merlin Ambrosius* by the name of *Bardd Gortheyrn*, that is, *Vortiger's Philosopher*, or *learned man*, or *Prophesyer*. *Bardd Telyn* is he that is doctor of the musicians of the harp, and is the chief harp in the land, having his abode in the king's palace: and note no man may be called *Privardd*, but he that inventeth such learning, and arts, or science, as were never taught before. The second kind of *Bardd* is *Posvardd*, and those *Posveirdd* were afterwards *Prydiddion*: for they did imitate and teach what the *Priveirdd* had set forth, and must take their author from one of them; for they themselves are no authors, but registers

and propagators of the learning invented by the others. The third kind is *Arwyddvard*, that is by interpretation an *Ensign-bard*, and indeed is a herald at arms; and his duty was to declare the genealogy and to blazon the arms of nobles and princes, and to keep the record of them, and to alter their arms according to their dignity or deserts. These were with the kings and princes in all battles and actions. As for their garments, I think they were long, such as the *Prydiddion* had; for they challenge the name of *Beirdd* ut supra. Whereas some writers, and for the most part all foreners that mention the *Beirdd*, do write that *Bard* has his name given him from one *Bardus*, who was the first inventor of *Barddonieth*, and some say he was the fourth king of Britain; I say it is a most false, erroneous, and fabulous surmise of foren writers, for there never was any of that name either a king or king's son of Britain. But there was a great scholar and inventor both of poetical verses and musical lessons that was some time king of Britain. His name was *Blegywryd ap Geisyllt*, and he was the 56th supreme king of Great Britain, and dy'd in the 2067th year after the deluge, of whom it is written that he was the famousest musician that ever lived in Britain. No writer can show that *Bard* had his name from *Bardus*, it being a primitive British word that has the foresayd significations. And *Barddonieth* (which is the art, function, and profession of the

Bardd) is also us'd for prophesy and the interpretation thereof, and also for all kinds of learning among us that the *Beirdd* were authors of.

V. As for the fifth question, the king had always a chief judge resident in his court, ready to decide all controversies that then happen'd, and he was called *Egnat Llys*. He had some privilege given him by the king's household officers, and therefore he was to determine their causes gratis. As for the *tri anhepkor brenin*, I think it superfluous to treat of them here, seeing you have this matter in my book of laws more perfect than I can remember it at this time. Look in the table among the *trioedd kyfraith*, and those are set down in two or three several places of the book. And if you cannot find it there, see in the office of *Egnat Llys*, or *Pen teulu*, or *yffeiriaid llys*, and you'll be sure to find it in some of those places. I do not find in my book of laws, that there were any officers for the law that did dwell in the king's palace, but onely his *Egnat Llys*, that was of any name, or bore any great office: for he was one of the *tri anhepkor brenin*.

VI. As for the sixth question, I say that there were resident in the country but *Egnat Comot*, that I can understand. But when an assembly met together for the title of lands, then the king in his own person came upon the land; and if he cou'd not come, he appointed some deputy for him. There came with the king his chief judge,

and called unto him his *Egnat Komot*, or country-judge, together with some of his council that dwelt in the *Komot*, where the lands lay that were in the controversy, and the free-holders also of the same place, and there came a priest or prelate, two counsellors, and two *Rhingill* or serjeants, and two champions, one for the plaintiff and another for the defendant; and when all these were assembled together, the king or his deputy viewed the land, and when they had viewed it, they caused a round mount to be cast up, and upon the same was the judgment seat placed, having his back toward the sun or the weather. Some of these mounts were made square and some round, and both round and square bore the name of *Gorseddevy dadle*, that is, the mount of pleading. Some also have the name of him that was chief judge or deputy to the king in that judicial seat; and it was not lawful to make an assembly no where for title of lands, but upon the lands that were in controversy. These *Gorsedde* are in our country, and many other places to be seen to this day; and will be ever, if they be not taken down by men's hands. They had two sorts of witnesses, the one was *Gwybyddyeid*, and the other *Amhiniogev*. The *Gwybyddyeid* were such men as were born in the *Komot*, where the lands that were in controversy lay, and of their own perfect knowledge did know that it was the defendants right. And *Amhiniogev* were such men as had their lands near-

ing on the lands that were in controversy, and hemmed up that land. And the oath of one of those *Amhiniogev*, otherwise called *Keidweid*, was better than the oath of twain that were but *Gwybyddyeid*. Look in the table of my book of laws for the definition of *Keidweid*, *Amhiniogev*, and *Gwybyddyeid*, and how the king did try his causes; and that will manifest it more at large. The *Mayer* and the *Kangellawr* had no authority amongst the Britons for any lands but the kings lands; and they were to set it and let it, and to have their circuit amongst the king's tenants; and they did decide all controversies that happened amongst them. Vide in the table of my book of laws for the definition of *Mayer* and *Kangellawr*.

VII. To the seventh question, I say that there were in this land about a hundred superial kings, that governed this land successively; that were of the British blood: yet notwithstanding there were under them divers other princes that had the name of kings, and did serve, obey, and belong to the superial king, as the king of *Alban* or *Prydyn* or Scotland, the king of *Kymbery* or Wales, the king of *Gwneydd* or Venedotia. Yet notwithstanding the same law and government was used in every prince or king's dominion, as was in the superial king's proper dominion; unless it were that some custom or privilege did belong to some place of the kingdom more than to another: and every inferiour king was to execute the law upon

all transgressors that offended in their dominion. In the time of Kassibelanus there arose some controversy between the superial King Kaswallawne and Ararwy, king of London, one of his inferior kings, about a murther committed. The case is thus. The superial king keeping his court within the dominion of one of the inferior kings, a controversy falling between twain within the court, and there and then one was slain, the question is, Whether the murtherer ought to be tryed by the officers and privilege of the superior king, or of the inferior king. I think that the murtherer ought to be tried by the law and custom of the inferior king's court, because it is more seemly that the superior king's court, which did indure in that country but a week or twain, or such like time, should lose his privilege there for that time, than the inferior king's court should lose it for ever. *Vide in libro meo de legibus.* It may seem to those that have judgment in histories, that this was the very cause that Ararwy would not have his kinsman tried by the judges and laws or privilege of Kaswallawne, whose court did remain in the dominion of Ararwy but a little while, but would have the felon tried by his judges and his court. There is no mention made of *Talaith* any where amongst the Britons before the destruction of Britain, but that there were in Britain but one superial crown and three *Talaith* or coronets or Prince's crowns; one for the Alban, another for

Wales, and the third for *Kerniw* or Kornwale. There were divers others called kings which never wore any crown or coronet, as the kings of *Dyved* in South Wales, the king of *Kredigion*, and such, and yet were called kings, and their countries were divided as you shall see in the next question.

VIII. To the eighth question, I say, that according to the primitive law of this land, that *Dyfnwal Moel Mvd* made, for before the laws of *Dyfnwal Moel Mvd* the Trojan laws and customs were used in this land, and we cannot tell what division of lands they had, nor what officers but the *Druidion*, he divided all this land according to this manner, thus: *Trihud y gronin haidd*, or thrice the length of one barley corn maketh a *Modvedd* or inch, three *Modvedd* or inches maketh a *Palf* or a palm of the hand, three *Palf* or palm maketh a *Troedvedd* or foot, 3 feete or *Troedvedd* maketh a *Kam* or pace or a stride, 3 *Kam* or strides to the *Naid* or leape, 3 *Naid* or leape to the *Grwmg*, that is, the breadth of a butt of land or *Tix*; and *mil* of those *Tir* maketh *Miltir*, that is, a thousand *Tir* or mile. And that was his measure for length which hath been used from that time to this day; and yet, and for superficial measuring he made 3 *hud gronin haidd*, or barley corn length, to the *Modvedd*, or inch, 3 *Modvedd* or inch to the *Palf* or hand breadth, 3 *Palf* to the *Troedvedd* or foot, 4 *Troedvedd* or foot to the *Veriav* or the short yoke, 8 *Troedvedd*

or foot to the *Neidiav*, and 12 *Troedvedd* or foot in the *Gesstiliav* and 16 *Troedvedd* in the *Hiriav*. And a pole or rod so long, that is 16 foot long, is the breadth of an acre of land, and 30 poles or rods of that length, is the length of an *Erw* or acre by the law, and four *Erw* or acre maketh a *Tyddyn* or messuage, and four of that *Tyddyn* or messuage maketh a *Rhandir*, and four of those *Rhandiredd* maketh a *Gafel* or tenement or houlth, and four *Gafel* maketh a *Tref* or township, and four *Tref* or townships maketh a *Maenol* or *Maenor*, and twelve *Maenol* or *Maenor* and *dwv dref* or two townships maketh a *Kwmwd* or *Gomot*, and two *Kwmwd* or *Gomot* maketh a *Kantref* or *Cantred*, that is a hundred towns or townships. And by this reckoning every *Tyddyn* containeth four *Erw*, every *Rhandir* containeth sixteen *Erw*, and every *Gafel* containeth sixty-four *Erw*. Every town or township containeth two hundred fifty six *Erw* or acres, these *Erws* being fertile arable land, and neither meadow nor pasture nor woods. For there was nothing measured but fertile arable ground, and all others was termed wastes. Every *Maenol* containeth four of these townships, and every *Kwmwd* containeth fifty of these townships, and every *Cantred* a hundred of these townships, whereof it hath its name. And all the countries and lords dominions were divided by *Cantreds* or *Cantre*, and to every of these *Cantreds*, *Gomots*, *Maenors*, *Towns*, *Gafels*, were given

some proper names. And *Gwlad* or country was the dominion of one lord or prince, whether the *Gwlad* were one *Cantred* or two, or three or four, or more. So that when I say he is gone from *Gwlad* to *Gwlad*, that is, from country to country, it is meant that he is gone from one lord or prince's dominion to another prince's dominion; as for example, when a man committeth an offence in *Gwynedd* or Northwales, which containeth ten *Cantreds*, and fleeth or goeth to *Powys*, which is the name of another country and prince's dominion, which containeth ten other *Cantreds*, he is gone from one country or dominion to another, and the law cannot be executed upon him, for he is gone out of the country. *Tegings* is a country and containeth but one *Cantred*, and *Dyfrvn Glwyd* was a country, and did contain but one *Cantred*. And when any did go out of *Tegings* to *Dyfrvn Glwyd*, for to flee from the law, he went out from one country to another. And so every prince or lord's dominion was *Gwlad* or country to that lord or prince, so that *Gwlad* is *Pagus* in my judgment. Sometimes a *Cantred* doth contain two *Comot*, sometimes three, or four, or five; as the *Cantrefe* of Glamorgan or *Morganwg* containeth five *Comots*. And after that the Normans had won some parts of the country, as one lord's dominion, they constituted in that same place a senescal or steward, and that was called in the British tongue *Swyddog*, that is

an officer; and the lordship that he was steward of was called *Swydd* or office, and of these *Swydd* were made shires. And *Gwydd* is an office be it great or small, and *Swyddog* is an officer likewise of all states; as a sheriff is a *Swyddog*, his sheriff-ship or office, and the shire whereof he is a sheriff, is called *Swydd*. So that *Swydd* doth contain as well the shire as the office of a sheriff, as *Swydd Amwythig* is the shire or office of the steward, senescal, or sheriff of Salop, &c.

IX. As for the ninth question, the greatest and highest degree was *Brenin*, or *Teyen*, that is, a king; and next to him was a *Twysog*, that is a duke; and next to him was a *Jarll*, that is an earl; and next to him was an *Arghwydd*, that is a lord; and next to him was a *Barwn*, and that I read least of. And next to that is the *Breir* or *Vchelwr*, which may be called the squire: next to this is a *Gwreange*, that is a yeoman; and next to that is an *Alttud*; and next to that a *Kaeth*, which is a slave; and that is the meanest amongst these nine several degrees. And these nine degrees had three several tenures of lands, as *Maerdir*, *Vchelordir*, *Priodordir*. There be also other names and degrees, which be gotten by birth, by office and by dignity; but they are all contained under the nine aforesaid degrees.

X. As for the tenth question, I do not find nor have not read neither to my knowledge, in any chronicle, law, history or poetry, and dictionary,

any such word: but I find in the laws and chronicles, and in many other places this word *Rhaith* to be used for the oath of 100 men, or 200 or 300, or such like number, for to excuse some heinous fact; and the more heinous was the fact, the more men must be had in the *Rhaith* to excuse it; and one must be a chief man to excuse it amongst them, and that is called *Penrhaith*, as it were the foreman of the jury, and he must be the best, wisest, and discreetest of all the others. And to my remembrance the *Rhaithwyr*, that is the men of the *Rhaith*, must be of those that are next of kin, and best known to the supposed offender, to excuse him for the fact.

XI. As for the eleventh question, I say that I find a steward and a controller to be used for a *Distain* in my dictionary. I cannot find any greater definition given it any where, then is given it in my book of laws. Vide *Distaine*, in the table of my book of laws.

XII. To the twelfth question; I say, that the Britons had many councils, and had their counsellors scatter'd in all the lordships of the land. And when any controversy or occasion of counsel happen'd in *Swynedd*, the king called his counsellors that had their abode there, for to counsel for matters depending there, together with those that were there of his court or guard: for the king had his chief judge and certain of his council always in his company; and when the king had any oc-

casion of counsel for matters depending in Deme-
tia, or Powys, or Cornwall, he called those of his
counsel that dwelled in those coasts for to coun-
sel with them. And they went to a certain pri-
vate house or tower on a top of a hill, or some so-
litary place of counsel far distant from any dwel-
ling, and there advised unknown to any man but
to the counsellors themselves; and if any great
alteration or need of counsel were, that did per-
tain to all the land, then the king assited unto him
all his counsellors to some convenient place for
to take their advyce; and that happen'd but very
seldom.

DII GALLORUM.
TARAMIS.

Hesus.

Teutates.

Belenus, *vel*

Abellio.

Onvana. *Anara*, Hib.

Hogmius.

Adraste. Andate.

OFFICIORUM MAXIME
SACRORUM NOMINA.

Pateræ.

Cænæ.

Bardi. *Bard, Baird*, H.

Druidæ. { *Droi, Dru-*
 { *idhe*, Hib.

Eubages, corruptè pro
Vates.

SUMMUS MAGISTRATUS,

Vergobretus. { *Fergo-*
 { *brethr*,
 { Hib.

MILITARIA VOCABULA.
Ger.

Alauda.

Machine Bellicæ.

Caterva.

MILITUM SPECIES.

Gælatae. { *Gaiscio-*
 { *ghach*, H.Mangæ. } Diminut.
Mangana. } *Mean-*
Mangona- } *ghan.*
 lia.

Vargi.

Curruum Nomina.

Crupellarii.

Bagaudæ. *Bagadai.*

Galearii.

Benna.

Petoritum.

Carrus.

ARMORUM NOMINA.

Covinum.

Spatha.

Essedum.

Gessum.

Rheda.

Lancea.

Vestium Nomina.

Cateia.

Matara.

Rhenos.

Thyreus. *Tarei*, Hib.

Sagus.

Cetra.

Linna*.

Carnon. { *Carnan*, vide-
 { *as*, quæras.

Gaunacum.

Bardiacus, pro Bardis.

* *Linnae*, saga quadra et mollia sunt, de quibus Plaut. *Linnae* cooperta est textrino Gallia. Isidor.

Linna Diodoro est *σαγίς ψίλλος*, et Varroni mollis sagus, Hibernis hodiernis indusium est non una mutata littera.

Bardocucullus, etiam pro Bardis.

Braccæ, pro omnibus. *Breaccan.*

Maniaci.

Animalium Nomina.

Marc, Equus.

Rhaphius, Lupus Cervinus.

Abrana, Simia.

Barracaceæ, Pellium, &c.

Lug. Cornix. Mus.

Clupea. Piscis species.

NOTES
ON
TOLAND'S HISTORY
OF
The Druids.

NOTES.

NOTE I.—PAGE 54.

AMONG those institutions which are thought to be irrecoverably lost, one is that of the *Druids*, &c.—This mistake is founded on the opinion that the *Druids* were a religious sect totally distinct from all others; and that, as they committed nothing to writing, their institutions perished when the order became extinct. But *Druidism* was only a branch of the worship of the *sun*, at one time universal; and so long as the well authenticated history of that worship in any nation remains, the history of *Druidism* can never be completely lost.

NOTE II.—PAGE 57.

Since the *Anglo Saxons* having learned the word *Dry* from the *Irish* and *British* for a *magician*, &c.—This etymology of the Saxon *Dry* from the Celtic *Draoi* or *Draoid*, pronounced *Druí* and *Druíd*, is confirmed by Dr. Smith in his *History of the Druids*, and by Dr. Jamieson in his *History of the Culdees*. The absurd custom of deriving every thing from the Greek and Latin is now, and indeed very properly, losing ground. The Celtic *Druíd* literally signifies a *magician*; and hence the translators of the New Testament into Gaelic, finding no other word in that language fit for their purpose, rendered *Simon Magus*, *Simon the Druíd*. In the Gaelic, *ao* is equivalent to the Greek *Ypsilon*, but has been commonly, though very erroneously, rendered by the Saxon *y*. Hence it is obvious that the Saxon *Dry*, the Greek *Drys*, with the addition of the terminating *Sigma*, and the Gaelic *Druí*, are the same. The name appears, from the

fabulous accounts of the *Hamadryades*, to be of the most remote antiquity. These nymphs were said to be born, and to die with their favourite oaks. But from this we can only with certainty infer, that certain individuals were, at a very early period, so much addicted to particular *trees*, or rather *groves*, that when these were cut down they disappeared. *Drys* in the Greek does not radically signify an *Oak*, but a *Tree*. The Saxon *Dry*, pronounced *Dree*, is the modern English *Tree*. By far the most probable etymon of the word *Draoi*, pronounced *Druí*, is from *Dair*, an oak, and *Aoi*, a stranger or guest. Hence we have the compound word *Dairaoi*, and by abbreviation *Draoi*, signifying an *inhabitant of the oak*; a term exactly corresponding with the notion entertained of the *Hamadryades* by the ancient Greeks. To those better acquainted with the Greek than the Celtic it was very natural to derive *Druid* from the Greek *Drys*; but the fact is, that the Greek *Drys* is the Celtic *Draoi*, Græcally terminated.

NOTE III.—PAGE 57.

Of these degrees, the Arch-Druid excepted, there's little to be found in the classic authors that treat of the Druids; tho' very much and very particularly in the Celtic writings and monuments.—No man had better access to know, or was better qualified to judge of the Celtic writings than Mr. Toland. As I will have occasion, in a future note, to enlarge on this head, I shall only at present endeavour to impress on the reader's mind, that the Irish manuscripts are of great antiquity, and contain many important particulars respecting the Druids.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 59.

While they had the address to get themselves exempted from bearing arms, &c.—This exemption is mentioned by *Cæsar, lib. 4. cap. 14. Druides a bello abesse consueverunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiæ vacationem, omnium que rerum habent immunitatem*: i. e. “The Druids are accustomed to be absent from war, nor do they pay tribute along with the rest;

they are exempted from military service, and possess, in all things, the most extensive immunities.”

NOTE V.—PAGE 59.

These privileges allured great numbers to enter into their communities, &c.—Cæsar, lib. 4. cap. 14. *Tantis excitati præmiis; et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a propinquis parentibusque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque nonnulli annos vicens in disciplina permanent, i. e.* “Allured by these rewards many voluntarily enter into their discipline, and many are sent by their parents and relations. There they are said to get *by heart* a great number of verses. Therefore some remain twenty years under their discipline.”

NOTE VI.—PAGE 62.

The pretensions of the Druids to work miracles, &c.—A man ignorant of the history of the Druids may perhaps be startled at the knowledge of astronomy here ascribed to them. Cæsar, who had good access to know the fact, says lib. 4. cap. 14. *Multa preterea de sideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine; de rerum natura, de Deorum immortalium vi, ac potestate disputant, et Juventuti transdunt, i. e.* “They have besides many disquisitions, concerning the heavenly bodies, and their motions, concerning the size of the world, and the different parts thereof; concerning the nature of the universe, and the strength and power of the immortal gods, and these they communicate to their pupils.” As miracles among the heathen nations were only natural phænomena misunderstood, or rather not understood at all, it must be owned that the Druids, with one half of the knowledge here ascribed to them, had ample means of imposing on their ignorant followers.

NOTE VII.—PAGE 62.

For true religion does not consist in cunningly devised fables, in authority, dominion or pomp; but in spirit and truth, in sim-

plicity and social virtue, in a filial love and reverence, not in a servile dread and terror of the divinity.—Mr. Toland has often been accused of Atheism, &c. whereas on the contrary he has always been forward to advocate the cause of true religion. It has often been said by his enemies that he wrote his *History of the Druids* with a view to substitute Druidism in place of Christianity. How well this charge is founded the reader has now an opportunity of judging for himself.

NOTE VIII.—PAGE 61.

Though I shall prove that no Druids, except such as, towards their latter end, fled thither for refuge, or that went before with Celtic invaders or colonies, were ever among the Gothic nations.—There are many and unquestionable traces of the Druidical rites to be found among the *Goths*. *Pinkarton*, whom no man will accuse of partiality to the *Celts*, admits that they were the first inhabitants of Europe. Throughout the whole extent of ancient Scythia, their language can be clearly traced in the names of places still remaining. They gave name to the *Cimbric Chersonese*, *hodie Jutland*. The *Baltic* sea evidently takes its name from *Baltac*, the diminutive of the Celtic *Balt*. *Baltac* signifies the little *Belt*. *Pinkarton* found a *Promontorium Celticæ* near *Moscow*. There is an *Innertiel* on the *Rhine*, and another near *Kirkcaldy*. We find a *Clud* (*Clyde*) at the source of the *Wolga*, another in *Lanarkshire*, and a third in *Wales*. *Danube* is evidently the Gaelic *Dal-Nubadh* pronounced *Dal-Nubay*, and abbreviated *Danubay*, *i. e.* the cloudy dale. *Duina* evidently corresponds with the *Duin* or *Doone* in *Ayrshire*. The numerous *Dors* on the Continent correspond with the Gaelic *Dor*, an abbreviation of *Dothar*, *i. e.* a river. Instances of the same kind are almost innumerable. So far with respect to the remains of the Celtic language among the *Goths*. As to their religion, *Tacitus*, speaking of the *Sueti*, says, *Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque suavorum semones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam Auguriis Patrum et prisca formidine sacram, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi lega-*

tionibus cœeunt, cæsoque publice homine, celebrant Barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia. Nemo nisi Vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis præseferens. Si forte prolapsus est; attolli et insurgere haut licitum. Per humum evolvuntur, coque omnis superstitio respicit, tanquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium Deus, cætera subjecta atque parentia, i. e. "The Simnones give out that they are the most noble and ancient of the Suevi; and their antiquity derives credibility and support from their religion. At a stated season of the year, all the nations of the same blood meet by appointment, in a wood rendered sacred by the auguries of their ancestors, and by long established fear; and having slain (sacrificed) a man publicly, they celebrate the horrid beginning of their barbarous rites. There is also another piece of reverence paid to this grove. Nobody enters it unless bound, by which he is understood to carry before him the emblems of his own inferiority, and of the superior power of the Deity. If any one chances to fall, he must neither be lifted up nor arise, but is rolled along upon the ground till he is without the grove. The whole superstition has this meaning—that their God, who governs all things, shall remain with the first founders of the nation; and that all others shall be obedient and subject to them."—*De Morib. Germ. cap. 12.*

The same author, speaking of the Germans in general, says, *Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus, humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent, &c. i. e. "Of all the Gods, the chief object of their worship is Mercury, to whom, on certain days, they hold it lawful to offer human sacrifices."* In the same chapter he informs us, that a part of the *suevi* sacrifice to *Isis*, and calls this *advectam religionem, i. e. a foreign religion.* —*De Morib. Germ. cap. 4.*

Est in insula oceani castum nemus, dicatum in eo vehiculum veste contextum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum, &c. i. e. There is, in an island of the ocean, a consecrated grove, and in it a chariot dedicated to some goddess, and covered with a veil, which

no one but the priest is allowed to touch. He perceives when the goddess enters the chariot, and follows her, drawn by white heifers, with the most profound veneration. Then are joyful days—then the priest honours every festive place with his presence and hospitality—then they do not enter into wars—then they do not take up arms: every sword is sheathed—peace and tranquillity are then only known, then only regarded; till at length the same priest restores the goddess, satiated with the conversation of mortals, to her temple. Immediately the chariot, the veil, and, if you will believe it, the goddess herself, is washed in a secret lake, and the servants, who assisted at this religious procession, are instantly drowned in the same lake. Hence there springs a holy ignorance, a secret terror, and men blindly wonder what that can be, which cannot be seen without subjecting the beholders to certain death.—*Tacitus de Morib. Germ. cap. 13.*

Having clearly established that sacrifices were offered in Germany, it remains to be proved that these sacrifices were not offered by Germans. *Caesar* having given an account of the Celtic religion, and particularly of their human sacrifices, proceeds to give us an account of the Germans in these words—*Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt. Nam neque Druides habent qui divinis rebus presint, neque sacrificiis student, i. e.* “The Germans differ much from this custom, for they neither have priests (Druids) who preside in divine affairs, nor do they trouble their head about sacrifices at all.”—*De Bello Gallico, lib. 6. cap. 21.*

Thus it is clearly established by *Cæsar*, that the Germans or Goths had neither priests nor sacrifices, and, by *Tacitus*, that both priests and sacrifices were to be found in Germany, particularly among the Suevi, who deduced their origin from the *Semnones*, *i. e.* the *Galli Senones*, a Celtic tribe who burnt Rome, besieged the capital, and were afterwards overcome by *Camillus*. Hence we do not hesitate to ascribe to the Celts, whatever Druidical rites and monuments we find in Germany. And as the Celts were the præcursors of the Goths, and at all

times intermixed with them, it cannot be doubted but that, on the suppression of Druidism in Gaule by the Romans many of the Druids would take shelter among their friends in Germany.

NOTE IX.—Page 65.

Much of the antient Irish mythology still extant in verse, &c.—That so many antient Irish manuscripts should still remain unpublished, is matter of regret to every friend to Celtic literature. *Pinkarton* and *Innes* exclaim, why did not the Irish historians, who quote these manuscripts publish them? But how would these gentlemen look were we to retort the request on them. *Pinkarton* says, he read 2,000 volumes. *Innes* was also a laborious reader. Now supposing these gentlemen had perused only 1,000 volumes, and these in manuscript like the Irish, how would they have looked, had we desired them to publish these manuscripts. It is matter of satisfaction that these manuscripts exist, more so that the most inveterate enemy's of the Irish, dare not deny their existence, but the publication of them is a work of such immense labour, that no individual is adequate to the task. I hope, however, the day is not far distant when this important business will be taken up by the Highland Society, or by the British empire at large.

NOTE X.—PAGE 65.

Druida, &c.—Mr. Toland's remarks on the propriety of making a distinction betwixt *Druidæ* and *Druides*, tho' the antients used them indiscriminately, ought by modern writers to be strictly attended to, as it would prevent much confusion. Poor *Pinkarton*, willing to swallow any thing that could favour his *Gothic system*, tells us that *Druidæ* is feminine, and that after a certain period only *Druidesses* are to be found. It was unfortunate he did not also discover that the *Celtæ* were all females. The *Belgæ*, *Sarmatæ*, &c. and his own beloved *Gætæ* must have shared the same fate. But this is not to be wondered at in an author so deranged by the *Gothic Mania*, as repeatedly to affirm, that *tota Gallia* signifies the third part of Gaul.

NOTE XI.—PAGE 68.

Their only word for a magician is Druid, &c.—Innes says, in the Latin lives of St. Patrick and Cloumba, the Druids are called *Magi*. Critical Essay, vol. 2. p. 464. Ambrosius Calepine, under the word *Magus* reckons the *Persian Magi*, the *Greek Philosophoi*, the *Latin Sapientes*, the *Gallic Druidæ*, the *Egyptian Prophetæ*, the *Indian Gymnosophistæ*, and the *Assyrian Chaldeæ*. He also informs us that *Magus* is a Persian word signifying a wise man.—*Diet. page 742.*

Pliny, book 16. cap. 44. says, the Gauls call their *Magi*, *Druids*. *Nihil habent Druidæ (ita suos appellant Magos) visco, et arbore in qua gignatur (si modi sit robur) sacratius.*

NOTE XII.—PAGE 69.

The Druid's Egg, &c.—This was the badge or distinguishing ensign of the Druids. The following account of it given by Pliny, will be acceptable to the classical reader:

*Praeterea est ovorum genus, in magna Galliarum fama, omis-
sum Graecis. Angues innumeri aestate convoluti, salivis fan-
cium, corporum que Spumis artificii complexu glomerantur, an-
guinum appellatur. Druidæ sibilis id dicunt sublime jactari,
sagoque oportere intercipi ne tellurem attingat. Profugere rap-
torem equo; serpentes enim insequi, donec arceantur annis alicu-
jus interventu. Experimentum ejus esse, si contra aquas fluitet
vel auro vinctum. Atque, ut est Magorum Solertia occultandis
fraudibus sagax, certa Luna capiendum censent, tanquam con-
gruere operationem eam serpentium humani sit arbitrii. Vidi
equidem id ovum mali orbiculati modici magnitudine, crusta car-
tilaginis, velut acetabulis brachiorum Polypi crebris, insigne
Druidis. Ad victorias litium, ac regum aditus, mire laudatur:
tantæ vanitatis, ut habentem id in lite, in sinu Equitem Romanum
e Vocontiiis, a Divo Claudio Principe interemptum non ob aliud
sciam.*—Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 29. cap. 3.

i. e. "There is besides a kind of egg held in high estimation by the inhabitants of all the Gauls, unnoticed by the Grecs

writers. It is called the serpent's egg; and in order to produce it, an immense number of serpents, twisted together in summer, are rolled up in an artificial folding, by the saliva of their mouths, and the slime of their bodies. The Druids say that this egg is tossed on high with hissings, and that it must be intercepted in a cloak, before it reach the ground. The person who seizes it flies on horseback, for the serpents pursue him, till they are stopped by the intervention of some river. The proof of this egg is, that tho' bound in gold, it will swim against the stream. And, as the *Magi* are very artful and cunning in concealing their frauds, they pretend that this egg can only be obtained, at a certain time of the moon, as if this operation of the serpents could be rendered congruous to human determination. I have indeed seen that egg of the size of an ordinary round apple, worn by the Druids, in a chequered cover, resembling the numerous calculi in the arms of a Polypus. Its virtue is highly extolled for gaining law-suits, and procuring access to kings; and it is worn with so great ostentation, that I knew a Roman knight by birth a Vocontian, who was slain by the Emperor Claudius for no cause whatever, except wearing one of these eggs on his breast during the dependence of a law-suit."

Pliny has, no doubt, given us this enigmatical account of the serpent's egg, in the words of the vulgar tradition in Gaul; for the Druids were of all men the most studious to conceal their tenets, and it does not appear he could have had access to it by any other means. Dark and disguised as it is, it contains some important facts, on which I shall hazard a few conjectures. 1. The serpent in early times was the emblem of wisdom, and the conglomeration of the serpents to produce this egg, appears to be figurative of the wisdom of the Deity in creating the universe. 2. That this egg was tossed on high, and must be intercepted before it fall to the ground, seems to denote that the true philosopher must direct his eyes upward, and be always on the alert to observe the phænomena of nature, before they are out of his reach. 3. The flying on horseback, and the pursuit of the serpents till they are stopped by some river, clearly intimate, that,

though there are many obstacles in the way of philosophers, still these have their bounds, and may be overcome by exertion and perseverance. I cannot here help remarking that this Druidical notion of serpents, or evil spirits, not being able to pass a stream of running water, can be still recognized among the lower ranks of Scotland, for a full account of which, I beg leave to refer the reader to *Burns' Tam O'Shanter*. 4. That this egg is proved by its floating against the stream, implies that the philosopher is able to stem the torrent of public prejudice, and chalk out a contrary path to himself. 5. That this egg can only be obtained at a certain season is expressive of that attention and assiduity which ought to characterize the philosopher, in watching the motions and revolutions of the heavenly bodies. 6. The persuasion that it procured success in law-suits, and access to kings, is founded in fact. The egg in question was the distinguishing badge of the Druids, who were the supreme judges in civil as well as religious cases, and certainly had more wisdom than to decide against themselves; and so exorbitant was their power, that even the king himself was subject to them. 7. The Vocontii were a people of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the Roman knight slain by the Emperor Claudius, was in all probability a Druid. Druidism was abolished by the Emperor Tiberius, as Pliny informs us, *namque Tiberii Caesaris Principatus Sustulit Druidas eorum*, &c. i. e. For the emperors of Tiberius Cæsar abolished their Druids.—*Nat. Hist. lib. 30. cap. 1.*

NOTE XIII.—PAGE 70.

Many places in Great Britain and Ireland still retain the names of the Druids, &c.—In addition to the list of names here given by Toland, it may be proper to add the following, viz. *Drysdale*, i. e. *Drui-dal*, i. e. the Dale of the Druids near *Lockerby*. *Inis Druineach*, the antient name of *Jona*, and which signifies the island of the Druids. *Drudal*, i. e. *Drui-dal*, i. e. the Dale of the Druids, in the parish of Tynron. The grave of the Druids in the island of *Jona*,—*Pit-an-druck*, i. e. the grave of the Druids, near Brechin, &c. yet, strange to tell, Pinkerton asserts,

that there is no proof whatever of the Druids ever having been in North Britain. *Dreux*, the place of their general annual assembly in France, literally signifies the *Druids*. Stephanus gives us three other places of the same name, viz. *Drys* a city of Thrace, *Drys* a city of the Ænetri, and *Drys* a village of Lycia, near the river Arus.—*Wide Stephanum in verbo Drys.*

NOTE XIV.—PAGE 71.

Gealcossa, &c.—Toland reckons *Gealcossa*, i. e. white legged, a Druidess. He also reckons *Lambdearg*, (page 56) i. e. Bloody-hand, a Druid. Both belong to Ireland. The curious reader will see the story of *Lambdearg* and *Gealcossa*, at considerable length in *Ossian's Poems*; Fingal, book 6, page 97—Johnston's edition, 1806. *Fingal* having lost his son, *Ryno*, in his expedition to Ireland, was anxious to bury him in honourable ground; and seeing a tomb near, thus addresses his bard *Ullin*:—"Whose fame is in that dark green tomb?" &c. *Ullin* replies—"Here said the mouth of the song, here rests the first of heroes. Silent is *Lambdearg* in this tomb, and *Ullin*, king of swords. And who, soft smiling from her cloud, shews me her face of love? Why, daughter, why so pale, art thou first of the maids of *Cromla*? Dost thou sleep with the foes in battle, *Gelchossa*, white bosomed daughter of *Tuathal*? Thou hast been the love of thousands, but *Lambdearg* was thy love. He came to *Selma's* mossy towers, and, striking his dark buckler, said—Where is *Gelchossa*, my love, the daughter of the noble *Tuathal*?" &c. Such a coincidence betwixt *Toland* and *M'Pherson*, is a strong proof of the authenticity of *Ossian's Poems*. *Toland* derived his information from the Irish manuscripts and traditions—*M'Pherson* his from those of the Highlands of Scotland. Now if both concur that Ireland was the country of *Lambdearg* and *Gelchossa*, the point may be considered determined that they were real, not imaginary characters; and it will naturally follow, that the poems of *Ossian* are genuine and authentic. *Toland*, who wrote 50 years before *M'Pherson*, surely cannot be accused of inventing this story to support the authenticity of *Ossian's Poems*.

It has often been objected to Ossian, that he makes no mention of the Druids. A noble instance to the contrary will be found in this very passage. Lamderg not being able to discover Gelchossa, says to *Ferchois*—"Go, *Ferchois*, go to *Allad*, the grey haired son of the rock. His dwelling is in the circle of stones. He may know of Gelchossa."

NOTE XV.—PAGE 72.

Bard, &c.—The office of the Bards is well described by Toland. This office existed long after the extinction of the Druids. Tacitus, speaking of the Germans, has the following remark :—*Ituri in prælia Canunt. Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina relatu quorum quem Barditum vocant, accendunt animos.*—De Morib. Germ. cap. 1. i. e.—“When going to battle they sing. They have also a particular kind of songs, by the recital of which they inflame their courage, and this recital they call *Barditus*. Now this word *Barditus*, is the Gaelic *Bardeachd*, pronounced *Bard-eat*, or *Bardit*, and latinically terminated. It signifies *Bardship*, or *Poetry*. Pinkerton has exerted all his ingenuity to show that *Ossian's Poems* were borrowed from the Gothic war songs. But from the testimony of Tacitus, it is clear that the Goths borrowed their war songs from the Celts, else they would have had a name for it in their own language, without being obliged to borrow one from the Celts. *Bardeachd* is no more Gothic, than *Philosophy*, *Physiology*, *Phlebotomy*, &c. are English.

NOTE XVI.—PAGE 72.

Misselto, &c.—Pliny gives the most particular account of the Misselto, and its uses. *Nihil habent Druidæ (ita suos appellant Magos) visco et arbore in qua gignatur (si moda sit robur) sacratius. Jam perse roborum eligunt lucos nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt, ut inde appellati quoque interpretatione Græca possint Druidæ videri. Enimvero quicquid adnascatur illis, e cælo missum putant, signumque esse electæ ab ipso Deo arboris. Est autem id rarum admodum inventu, et repertum magna reli-*

gione petitur: et ante omnia sexta luna, quæ principia mensuum annorumque his facit, et seculi post tricesimum annum, quia jam virium abunde habeat, nec sit sui dimidia. Omnia sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, sacrificiis epulisque sub arbore præparatis, duos admovent candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur. Sacerdos candida veste cultus arborem scandit: falce aurea demetit. Candido id excipitur sago. Tum demum victimas immolant, precantes ut suum donum deus prosperum faciat his quibus dedit. Fæcunditatem co pototo dari cuicunque animali sterili arbitrantur, contraque venena omnia esse remedio.—Nat. Hist. lib. 16. cap. 44. i. e. “The Druids (for so they call their Magi) have nothing more sacred than the Misselto, and the tree on which it grows, provided it be an oak. They select particular groves of oaks, and perform no sacred rites without oak leaves, so that from this custom they may seem to have been called Druids (Oakites), according to the Greek interpretation of that word. They reckon whatever grows on these trees, sent down from heaven, and a proof that the tree itself is chosen by the Deity. But the Misselto is very rarely found, and when found, is sought after with the greatest religious ardour, and principally in the sixth moon, which is the beginning of their months and years, and when the tree is thirty years old, because it is then not only half grown, but has attained its full vigour. They call it *All-heal* (*Uib' ice*) by a word in their own language, and having prepared sacrifices and feasts under the tree with great solemnity, bring up two white bulls, whose horns are then first bound. The priest, clothed in a white surplice, ascends the tree, and cuts it off with a golden knife, and it is received in a white sheet (*Cloke*). Then they sacrifice the victims, and pray that God would render his own gift prosperous to those on whom he has bestowed it. They reckon that the Misselto administered in a potion can impart fæcundity to any barren animal, and that it is a remedy against all kinds of poison.”

We are not to infer from these words of Pliny, that the Druids had no other medicine except the Misselto, but only that they

had *nihil sacratius*, i. e. none more respected. The *Herba Britannica*, of which *Ambrosius* Calepine gives the following account, may be fairly ascribed to them. Plin. lib. 23. cap. 3. *Herba est foliis oblongis et nigris, radice item nigra, nervis et dentibus salutaris, et contra anginas, et serpentium morsus efficax remedium habens. Hujus flores vibones vocantur; quibus ante tonitrua degustatis, milites adversus fulminum ictus prorsus securi reddebantur. Scribit Plinius loco jam citato, promotis a Germanico trans Rhenum castris, in maritimo tractu fontem fuisse inventum aquæ dulcis qua pota, intra biennium dentes deciderent, compagesque in genibus solverentur. Ei autem malo Britannicam herbam auxilio fuisse, a Frisiis Romano Militi communstratum.*—Vide Calepinum in verbo *Britannica*. i. e. “This herb hath oblong black leaves, and a black root. It is salutary for the nerves and teeth, and a sovereign remedy for the squiocy and the sting of serpents. Its flowers are called *Vibones*; and the soldiers having tasted these before a thunder storm, were rendered completely secure against its effects. Pliny writes, in the passage before cited, that Germanicus having moved his camp across the Rhine, found in the maritime district, a spring of sweet water, of which, if any one drank, his teeth fell out, and the joints of his knees were loosened, within two years; but that the *Herba Britannica*, pointed out by the inhabitants of Friesland to the Roman soldiers, was a remedy for these maladies.”

NOTE XVII.—PAGE 74.

That out of the tracts of his chariot, &c.—To the Celtic reader, this fragment of a Gaelic song preserved by Athenæus, cannot fail to be acceptable. It is nineteen hundred years old, and may serve as a caution to those who deny the antiquity of Celtic poetry. Pinkerton says Gaelic poetry is not older than the 12th century.

NOTE XVIII.—PAGE 75.

Ollamh, &c.—This word is pronounced by the Celts *Ollar*,

and by the English *Ollaw*: it signifies a doctor or graduate. The etymology of this word, as far as I know, has not been attempted. It is compounded of the Gaelic adjective *oll*, signifying *all*, and *lamh*, a hand, and imports the same thing as *all-handed*, or what the Romans would term *omnium rerum expertus*. *Lamh*, pronounced *lav*, and sometimes *laf*, is the radix of the Saxon *loof*, i. e. the palm of the hand; but such is the disingenuity of Pinkerton and his Gothic adherents, that, when they have once gothicized a Celtic word, they claim it altogether. Perhaps the Latin *lavo*, to wash, is derived from the same radix.

NOTE XIX.—PAGE 76.

Parliament at Drumcat, &c.—The true orthography, as Mr. Toland informs us, is *Druim-Ceat*, i. e. the hill of meeting. *C* in the Celtic, as well as in the Greek and Latin, is always pronounced hard as *K*. A very great affinity betwixt the Greek, Roman, and Celtic languages, can be clearly traced. In the present instance, it is sufficient to remark, that the Roman *Cætus*, is merely the Celtic *Ceat* latinically terminated. Christianity was introduced into Ireland about the middle of the fifth century, and from the same æra we may date the decline of Druidism in that kingdom. Hence the Bards, freed from the restraints of their superiors the Druids, appear to have run into great irregularities; and to counteract these was the object of the present council.

NOTE XX.—PAGE 77.

Third order of the Celtic literati.—Mr. Toland reckons only three orders of Celtic literati, viz. *Druids*, *Bards*, and *Ouateis*. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 15. pag. 51. has the same classification, with this difference, that instead of *Ouateis*, he mentions *Eubages*. This Mr. Toland, with good reason, supposes a corruption of *Ouateis*. Dr. Smith, in his *History of the Druids*, has so servilely followed our author, that in all matters of importance, he may be properly denominated the *Tolandic Echo*.

In some points of inferior moment he has aimed at a little originality, and in the present case, gives the etymology of *Eubages*, viz. *Deu' Phaiste*, and in the oblique cases *'eu vaiste*, which he translates, *good or promising youths*, and latinizes *Eubages*. On this overstrained and unnatural analysis, I leave the classical reader to make his own remarks. If *Eubages* is not a corruption of the Greek *Ouateis*, it can admit of a satisfactory solution, as compounded of *Eu-Faigh*, i. e. *a good poet*. *Eu* has the same signification in the Greek and Celtic, with this difference—that in the former it is an adverb, and in the latter an adjective. *Faidh*, a poet or prophet, is sometimes written *Faigh*. Vide *Shaw's Gaelic Dictionary*. Every one knows that *Taigh* (the grandfather of Fingal) is latinized *Tages*; and by the same analogy, *Eu-Faigh* would be latinized *Eufages*, which might very easily degenerate into *Eubages*.

What renders this etymon more probable is, that a turn for poetry was an indispensable requisite with the Druidical sect, through all its subdivisions. Cæsar, as has already been noticed, says they learned so great a number of verses, as cost them sometimes twenty years' study. Dr. Smith (page 5th) agrees with Toland, that the *Eubages* were the lowest order of the Druidical sect. Ammianus Marcellinus is of the same opinion, when he proceeds thus:—*Eubages Scrutantes seria et sublimia naturæ pandere conabantur. Inter hos Druides ingeniis celsiores, &c. Et Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta heroicis composita versibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitarunt.*—Lib. 15. page. 51. i. e. “The *Eubages* investigating the serious and sublime things of nature, endeavoured to explain them. Among these the Druids were men of more exalted genius, &c. And the bards too sung the brave actions of illustrious men, composed in heroic poetry, to the sweet strains of the lyre.

NOTE XXI.—PAGE 78.

One of the prime Druids. &c.—This Archdruid was Divitiacus the Eduan, the friend and intimate acquaintance of Cæsar.

It is rather remarkable that Cæsar, who had a high esteem for him, did not inform us of this circumstance. Toland's quotation from Cicero may be rendered in English thus,—“ And there are also Druids in Gaul, of whom I myself was well acquainted, with Divitiacus the Eduan, your entertainer and panegyrist, who declared that the study of nature, which the Greeks call physiology, was well known to him; and partly from augury, partly from conjecture, foretold future events.”

Had Cicero not given us this information, there is a passage in the *Life of Divitiacus*, which must for ever have remained inexplicable. Cæsar ordered Divitiacus to make head against his brother Dumnorix. Divitiacus, among other things, says—*Quod si quid ei a Cæsare gravius accidisset, quum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum, non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum, uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur.*—Cæsar, lib. 1. cap. 20. i. e. “ If Cæsar should inflict any severe punishment on his brother, whilst he himself stood so high in Cæsar's friendship, every one would imagine it was done with his concurrence, and hence the affections of all Gaul would be alienated from him.” How should a private individual in the petty state of the Ædui, be afraid of losing the good opinion of all Gaul? The question is unanswerable, till we are made acquainted that he was their Archdruid, and then every difficulty vanishes.

NOTE XXII.—PAGE 79.

Proposes taking a journey for six months, &c.—Mr. Toland had it in contemplation to write a larger *History of the Druids*, which he did not live to accomplish. What is now offered to the public is contained in three letters, addressed to the Lord Viscount Molesworth, his patron and benefactor. It was never intended to meet the public eye, but was published, along with some other posthumous pieces, about five years after his death. The last of these letters is dated April 18, 1719, and he died the 11th March, 1722. Posterity has long regretted, and will

always regret, that a man so eminently qualified for the task, did not live to accomplish it. The present work professes to be nothing more than a specimen or prospectus of his larger one. Summary and brief as it is, it is twice as long as Dr. Smith's, which is held out to be a detailed and complete history. There is not one fact of importance in Dr. Smith's history, which has not been anticipated by Mr. Toland. As to the uncandid manner in which the reverend doctor has dealt with our author, I leave it to the impartial reader to determine; but I do not hesitate to affirm, that had not Mr. Toland led the way, Dr. Smith's history had never made its appearance.

NOTE XXIII.—PAGE 81.

Ogmios, &c.—From this piece of masterly criticism, it will appear how impossible it is to explain many passages in the Greek and Roman classics, without a knowledge of the Gaelic language. Respecting the Gaelic Hercules, Toland has been so full, as to leave no room for me, or any one else, to enlarge on the subject. I must, however, request the reader to bear in mind (as it is a subject to which I will have occasion to recall his attention) how perfectly the Gaelic philosopher or Druid, mentioned by Lucian, spoke the Greek language, and how intimately he was acquainted with the Greek poets and the Grecian mythology.

NOTE XXIV.—PAGE 92 & 93.

Mr. Toland's remarks on the Irish manuscripts deserve particular attention. Though Pinkerton, Innes, &c. have indulged themselves freely in reprobating these manuscripts, on account of the foolish and improbable stories they contain, yet Mr. Toland, in this respect, has outdone them all. It is remarkable, that the interpolations and alterations of ancient manuscripts may principally be dated from the commencement of the christian æra. Before that period the heathen nations had nothing, beyond the limits of their authentic history, but fable and con-

jecture to guide them. This is remarkably the case with the Greek and Roman mythology. Whatever historian could invent the most plausible story, was sure to be listened to, and at the same time could not be detected, because there was no certain criterion whereby his works could be tried.

At the christian æra a very different scene presented itself. The history of the world, from its creation, and an accurate chronology of all events recorded in the sacred scriptures, was displayed to mankind. The heathen nations, sensible that their histories could not stand the test of this criterion, made the necessary alterations, principally in point of chronology. The histories of Greece and Rome were, however, at this period, so widely disseminated, that it would have been madness to risque the attempt.

Another cause of these alterations was the well meant, though most unjustifiable conduct of early christians, who moulded many of their ancient books to promote the cause of christianity. Hence we have the prophecies of Zoroaster, Hystaspes, and the Sybills respecting the Messiah—the character and description of the person of Christ in Josephus, &c. &c. But these interpolations are so palpable that they are easily detected.

On the other hand, when the Irish historians deduce their origin from Cæsarea, Noah's niece, or from the three daughters of Cain, and mark such events as took place prior to the christian æra, with the letters A. M.—*i. e. anno mundi*, or year of the world, it is evident these alterations, additions, and interpolations, must have been made since the introduction of christianity; but it does not follow that the date of these manuscripts must be as late as the christian æra, otherwise it must follow that Zoroaster and the Sybills also wrote posterior to christianity, which, we know, was not the case.

But an unquestionable proof of the antiquity of these manuscripts is, that they contain the rites and formularies of the Druids, and must consequently have been written prior to the christian æra; for it is a fact, that St. Patrick and his successors, instead of recording the rites of the Druids, did every thing in

their power to consign them to utter oblivion. All that is therefore wanting, as Toland justly remarks, is a skilful hand, to separate the dross from the ore.

NOTE XXV.—PAGE 95.

The use of letters has been very antient in Ireland.—This point has been most strenuously controverted. The antiquity of the use of letters among the Celts stands on incontrovertible evidence; but as I wish the reader to have perused the *History of Abaris*, before I enter into this discussion, I shall conclude my notes with two short dissertations, in the first of which I shall prove that the use of letters among the Celtic tribes is much more early than is generally allowed, and in the second endeavour to account for the great number, and high antiquity of the Irish manuscripts.

NOTE XXVI.—PAGE 102 & 103.

Mr. Toland here gives an enumeration of Druids which could have been no where found but in the Irish manuscripts. Indeed it is his intimate acquaintance with these manuscripts, and the Celtic language, that constitutes the peculiar excellence of the work. Dr. Smith, in his *History of the Druids*, (page 11) can find no authority that the Druids had wives, except in this passage of Toland, which he quotes. In quoting it he uses that disingenuity which characterises his whole conduct to Toland, and quotes his own poem of *Dargo Macdruibheil* first, and then Toland. This *Dargo Macdruibheil* is a Gaelic poem which the Dr. wrote down from oral recitation, and orthographized, as he thought fit. He translates it *Dargo the son of the Druid of Beil*. Any man of candour will be cautious of quoting one of his own works, to support another of them, particularly, as from the silence of Ossian respecting the Druids, there is more than reason to suspect, that this as well as some other circumstances have been modelled to supply the defect. That the Dr. could not find one Druid in Scotland married or unmarried, till he modelled a sir.

name for the purpose, whilst Mr. Toland from the Irish records has given us a dozen, is a very singular fact. I shall, however, in my dissertation on the antiquity of the Irish manuscripts, account for this singularity.

NOTE XXVII.—PAGE 104.

Bachrach, &c.—This is another of these well intended, though disingenuous attempts, to propagate Christianity by falsehood. It stands in no need of such surreptitious aid. It is, however, no small proof of the authenticity, as well as the antiquity, of the Irish records, that the eclipse which happened at that memorable crisis, was observed and transmitted to posterity by the Irish.

NOTE XXVIII.—PAGE 105.

That Patric burnt 300 volumes, &c.—Having reserved my remarks on the antiquity of the use of letters in Ireland, till towards the close of these notes, I shall only point out to the reader, that the use of letters must have been long known in Ireland, prior to Patric's arrival, else he could have found no books to burn.

NOTE XXIX.—PAGE 107.

Adder-stanes, &c.—Mr. Toland is here perfectly correct when he ascribes this name to the lowlands of Scotland. I have in my younger days heard the tradition respecting them a hundred times. The very same story is told of the *Adder-stanes*, which Pliny relates of the Druid's Egg, without the omission of one single circumstance. The reader will see the Druid's Egg treated of at length in the 12th note.

NOTE XXX.—PAGE 107.

Glaine nan Druidhe.—This was the Druid's Egg already treated of. If we may credit Dr. Smith, he tells us (page 62) that, this *glass physician* is sometimes sent for fifty miles to cure

diseases. His account is by no means improbable, for this amulet was held in high estimation, and superstition is very difficult to be eradicated. The Dr. might have given Mr. Toland credit for being the first who pointed out the name. But he adopts it as his own, without making the slightest acknowledgment. He imagines the word *Gluine* exclusively Gaelic, and hence infers that the Druids were great *glass-manufacturers*. He says they practised the art in gross on their vitrified forts, and improved it to that degree, that at last they constructed telescopes.

Pliny in his natural history, and particularly book 36. chap. 26. treats fully of the invention and manufacture of glass. It is on all hands allowed to have been invented by the Phœnicians, and the name is also probably Phœnician, the name of every new invention being generally introduced with the invention itself. The word is not exclusively Gaelic. In the Greek language, *Glēnē* signifies the pupil of the eye, brightness, &c. In the Gaelic language *Glainē*, besides glass, signifies clearness or brightness; and to any one acquainted with the force of the Grec *Eta*, it will at once occur, that these words are nearly synonymous in sound, and completely so in signification.

The doctor's telescopic hypothesis rests on the mistaken meaning of a quotation from *Hecateus*, who says, the *Boreadæ* bring the moon very near them. This the doctor imagines could not be done without telescopes. Now though we grant the doctor's *postulatum*, that the *Boreadæ* were Bards or Druids, still the hypothesis is as objectionable as ever.

The doctor tells us, that the proper signification of Druid is a magician; and it is really astonishing that he should not have known that it was the prerogative of all magicians, *deducere lunam*, i. e. "to bring down the moon." Virgil, eclogue 8th, says—" *Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere lunam*, i. e. "Charms can even bring down the moon from heaven."

Ovid, in his *Metamorphoses*, book 7, fab. 2. makes a famous witch say—" *Te quoque luna traho*, i. e. "I also bring down the moon."

Horace, in his 17th epode, makes Canidia say,

.....et pola

Deripere lunam vocibus possim meis.

i. e. "And I can pull down the moon from heaven by my words."

It is not once to be imagined that the Druids, who highly excelled in magic, would not have a pull at the moon, as well as other magicians; but I think we may safely infer, that it was not by telescopes, but by incantations, that this operation was performed. See Dr. Smith's *Hist. Druid.* page 62, 63, 64.

NOTE XXXI.—PAGE 107.

Mr. Toland, in these pages, says, that many nations borrowed part of their rites from the Gauls. He also enumerates several of the Druidical monuments; but as all these particulars are separately treated of, in a subsequent part of the history, I shall advert to them respectively in the order in which they occur. In translating the Greek quotation from Diogenes Laertius, Mr. Toland has rendered *Keltois* Gauls. In this there is no error; still I wish he had rendered it *Celts*, that name being not only much older, but, in fact, the original name; and *Gauls* (*Galli*, *Latine*, *Galtach*, *Galice*), being more modern alterations of it.

NOTE XXXII.—PAGE 110.

Carn, &c.—The particular kind of *Carns* here spoken of, were constructed for the great public solemnities of the Druids, as the temples were for the more stated and ordinary purposes of religion. The altar on the top sufficiently distinguishes them from any other description of *Carns*.

NOTE XXXIII.—PAGE 115.

Beal or *Bealan*.—This was the chief deity of the Celts, and signifies the *Sun*. It is the same with the Phœnician *Baal*, the Indian *Bhole*, the Chaldaic *Bel*, and the Hebrew *Bahal*. *Calepine*, under the word *Baal*, gives the following explanation of it. *Est nomen apud Tyrios quod datur Jovi. Nam Baal Punici videntur dicere Dominum, unde Baalsaman, quasi Dominum*

Cæli dicant; saman quippe apud eos Cælum appellatur, i. e. “It is a name given by the Tyrians to Jupiter. For the Phœnicians seem to call *Baal* a lord or ruler, whence *Baal-saman*, a phrase of the same import as if they said, the lord of the sky, for the sky is by them called *Saman*.” We need not be surprised at finding a Roman mistaking *Baal* for *Jupiter*. Pliny also confounds them. When speaking of Babylon he says—“*Durat adhuc ibi Jovis Bæli templum, i. e.* “There remains still there a temple of *Jupiter Belus*.—*Nat. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 26.*

The Phœnician *Saman*, the Hebrew *Semin*, and the Gaelic *Saman*, are all so similar in sound and signification, that there can be no doubt of their having been radically the same. *Sam*, in the Gaelic, signifies the *Sun*, and *Saman* is its regular diminutive. When the Celts call *Beal* by the name of *Sam*, or *Saman*, they only use the same elliptical mode of expression which the Romans do, when they call *Apollo Intonsus*, *Jupiter Olympius*, &c. It is only substituting the epithet or attribute, instead of the name.

In the county of Aberdeen there is a parish named *Culsalmond*, but pronounced *Culsamon*. This is merely a corruption of the Gaelic *Cill-saman*, and signifies the temple of the *Sun*. The Indian *Gymnosphistæ* were subdivided into *Brachmannæ*, and *Samanai*, the former being hereditary and the latter elective philosophers, *Vide Strabonem lib. 15.* The affinity between the Brahminical and Druidical philosophy is so great, as to leave no doubt of their having been originally the same. *Samanai* is merely the Gaelic adjective *Samanach* (descended of, or belonging to the sun), græcized *Samanaioi*, and thence latinized *Samanoi*, in the same manner as *Judach* and *Chaldach* are rendered *Judæi* and *Chaldæi*.

Doctor Smith in his *History of the Druids*, (page 16) with his usual *Celtic furor*, tears the monosyllable *Beal* to pieces, and etymologizes it *Bea' uil*, i. e. the life of all things. No philologist should venture to blow up a monosyllable, unless there are the most unequivocal marks of a *Crisis*. Here there are none, and the import of the word both in the Hebrew and Phœnician lan-

guages is point blank against his hypothesis. But what renders the matter still worse, he tells us that *Tuisco* of Germany, and the *Teutates* of Gaul have exactly the same meaning. These two Gods have been generally reckoned the same. *Cicero de Natura Deorum*, lib. 3. page 301, reckons him the 5th *Mercury*, and says, *Hunc Ægyptii Theutatem appellant, eodemque nomine, anni primus mensis apud eos vocatur*, i. e. The Egyptians call him *Teutates*, and the first month of their year is called by the same name. In the margin he gives us the synonymous name *Thein*, which every one knows is the Gaelic *Tein*, and signifies *Fire*. Such a coincidence in the Ægyptian and Gaelic languages was hardly to have been expected.

But Cicero, in the margin, gives us a third name of this god, viz. *Thoyth*. As *y* occurs only in such Latin words as are of Greek origin, *Thoyth* is evidently the Greek *Thouth*, adopted by the Romans. In the Greek it is now obsolete. *Thoyth* or *Thouth* is evidently the Gaelic *Theuth* or *Teuth*, signifying fire or heat, and is synonymous with *Tein* before-mentioned.

Theutates, or *Teutates*, is the most common and modern name, and is evidently the Gaelic *Teothaighthe* or *Teuthaighthe* (pronounced *Teutait*), and signifying *warmed*. In the Gaelic language we have many affinitives of this word, viz. *Teth*, *Teith*, and *Teuth*, i. e. *heat* or *hot*. *Tiothan*, *Tiotan*, *Tithin*, *Tethin*, and *Titan*, i. e. the *Sun*. *Teutham*, *Teotham*, *Tetham*, and *Titam*, i. e. *to warm*, &c. &c. That the name, as well as the etymon of this Egyptian deity, can be clearly traced in the Gaelic language, is a strong evidence that these languages were originally the same.

By *Teutates* the Romans understood *Mercury*; but the moderns probably considered him as *Mars*; for that day of the week which the Romans named *Dies Martis*, we name Tuesday, which is only an abbreviation of *Teutates' day*, or *Teuth's day*.

Titan, by which the Greeks and Romans meant the sun, is, if not a Celtic, at any rate an Egyptian deity; and, in the course of the notes, I will have occasion to shew that most of the Greek gods are borrowed. The utmost that can be granted to

Dr. Smith is, that *Beal* and *Tentates* are attributes of the same god, in after times individually deified; but they are no more synonymes than *Arcitenens* and *Intonsus*.

NOTE XXXIV.—PAGE 116.

Carn Lhadron.—The reader will here notice a word of the same import with the Roman *Latro*. The similarity between the Greek, Roman, and Gaelic languages, is strongly marked. This Gaelic word has also got into our colloquial language; for there is nothing more common among the vulgar, than to call a worthless person a *filthy laydron*. The Celtic language only gave way, on the continent of Europe, in Britain and Ireland, in proportion as the Gothic encroached; and hence the Celtic language was not expelled, but merely gothicized, as will most obviously appear to any one acquainted with the structure of these languages. It would be in vain to search for the radix of *Laydron* in the Gothic language.

NOTE XXXV.—PAGE 116.

Otter.—The proper signification of this word is a *rock*, or *shelve*, projecting into the sea. *Qun-otter*, in the vicinity of Stonehaven, is a noble illustration of this analysis, both in name and situation. *Dun-otter* literally signifies the *fort on the rock projecting into the sea*.

NOTE XXXVI.—PAGE 117.

Between Bel's two fires.—As Mr. Toland, in his note on this passage, informs us, the Irish phrase is *Ittir dha theine Bheil*, Dr. Smith has also given us the Scottish phrase, *Gabha Bheil*, i. e. *the jeopardy of Bel*. Both agree that these expressions denote one in the most imminent danger. Mr. Toland says the men and beasts to be sacrificed passed between two fires, and that hence the proverb originated. Doctor Smith, on the contrary, imagines that this was one of the Druidical ordeals, whereby criminals were tried; and, instead of making them

pass betwixt the fires, makes them march directly across them. Indeed he supposed the Druids were kind enough to anoint the feet of the criminals, and render them invulnerable by the flames. If so, there could have been neither danger nor trial. It may also be remarked, that had the doctor's hypothesis been well founded, there was no occasion for two fires, whereas, by the phrase, *between Bel's two fires*, we know that two were used. Doctor Smith has evidently confounded the *Gabha Bheil*, with a feat practised by the *Hirpins* on Mount *Soracte*, of which I shall take notice in its proper place.

NOTE XXXVII.—PAGE 118.

Archdruid, &c.—On the testimony of Cæsar, all the Druids were subject to an archdruid. *His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem.*—*Lib. 6. cap. 13.* i. e. "One Druid presides over all the rest, and is possessed of supreme authority among them."

Coibhî, the Gaelic name of this archdruid, is mentioned by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*, book 2, chap. 13.—*Cui primus pontificum ipsius Coifi continuo respondit, &c. Adjecit autem Coifi, quia vellet ipsum Paulinum diligentius audire de Deo quem prædicabat, &c.* i. e. "To whom *Coifi*, his chief priest, immediately replied, &c. *Coifi* also added, because he wished to hear Paulinus more diligently concerning the god whom he preached, &c." This *Coifi* was chief priest and counsellor to Edwin, king of Northumbria, when converted by Paulinus, in the beginning of the 7th century. Mr. M'Pherson, in his *Dissertation on the Celtic Antiquities*, is (as far as I know) the first who takes notice of this remarkable passage in *Bede*.

The name *Coibhî* is also preserved in the following Gaelic proverb:—*Ge fogasg clach do lar, is faisg' no sin cobhair Choibhidh.* i. e. "The stone cleaves not faster to the earth than *Coivî's* help to the needy."—*M'Intosh's Gaelic Proverbs*, page 34.

Dr. Smith, in his *History of the Druids* (page 8th), has given us the same Gaelic proverb.

Coifi-Drui, or *Dry*, is a phrase still used in the Highlands of

Scotland, and signifies a person of extraordinary merit.—*Jamieson's Hist. Culdees*, p. 27.

Dr. Jamieson mentions an old man who never addressed the Deity by any other name than that of *Archdruid* or *Coifi*.—*Hist. Culdees*, page 29.

From these quotations there can remain no doubt that this word exists in the history of *Bede*, and in the language, proverbs, and traditions of the Highlands of Scotland. The true matter of surprise is, that no one has attempted to explain the word. Even Dr. Jamieson himself, in his *History of the Culdees*, published about a year ago, expresses his wonder that it has not been done, but without remedying the defect.

This appears to me the more extraordinary, as the word still exists in the Gaelic language. *Caobhadh*, or *Cobhaidh*, or *Coibhidh* (for they are all the same), signifies a man expert at arms; a protector or helper. *Coibham* signifies to protect. *Coibhan* signifies a person noble, or highly exalted. *Coibha* signifies knowledge or nobility. *Coibhantadh* means helped or protected. These words are respectively pronounced *Coivi*, or *Coivay*—*Coivam*—*Coiva*, and *Coivantay*. Hence I do not hesitate to render *Coibhi**, helpful, and *Coibhi' Drui*, the helpful Druid. This explanation is strongly corroborated, not only by the Gaelic proverb before inserted, wherein the principal stress and emphasis rests on the word *help*; but by two collateral instances, which I shall adduce from the Greek and Roman mythology.

Ovid, lib. 1. fab. 9. makes Phœbus (the same with the Celtic *Bel*) enumerate his titles and inventions to Daphne, and, among the rest, mention,

.....Opiferque per orbem
Dicor

i. e. "I am called the help-bearer over the world."

Callimachus, in his hymn to Apollo, expresses himself thus:—*Polloi se Boëdromion caleousi*—i. e. "Many call thee the *auxiliator* or *helper*."—*Tytler's Edition*, line 69.

Thus we see the Gaelic *Coibhi*, the Latin *Opifer*, and the

Greek *Boidromios*, strictly synonymous. Ovid informs us, besides, that *Opifer* was Apollo's universal title. If so, *Coibhi* must have been one of his names or attributes, in the Gaelic language, and was, no doubt, assumed by his chief priest, by way of distinction and pre-eminence—a custom not uncommon among the heathen priests.

NOTE XXXVIII.—PAGE 119.

Under pain of excommunication, &c. Cæsar has transmitted to us the most prominent particulars of the Druidical excommunication, lib. 6. cap. 13.—*Si quis aut privatus aut publicus eorum decretis non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur; iis omnes decedunt; aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt: ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur*—i. e. “If any person, either private or public, does not acquiesce in their decisions, they interdict him from their sacrifices. This is, among them, the severest punishment. They who are thus interdicted, are reckoned impious and accursed; all men depart from them; all shun their company and conversation, lest they sustain some misfortune from their contagion; the administration of justice, and the protection of the laws, is denied to them; and no honour is conferred on them.

NOTE XXXIX.—PAGE 120.

A world of places are denominated from these cars, &c.—It would be endless to enumerate all the *Carns*, that occur in Great Britain and Ireland. They are also numerous over the continent of Europe, and Asia. *Carna*, or *Carnia*, or *Cardinia*, was a goddess who presided over human vitals. Ovid lib. 6. *Fast.* *Carneus*, a name of the sun. Callimachus' hymn to Apollo. *Carnana*, a city of the *Minæi*. Steph. *Lexicon.* *Carnantæ*, a nation near the Red Sea. *Ibidem*, *Carnapæ*, a nation near *Mæotis*. *Plin. lib. 6. cap. 7.* *Carne*, a town of Phœnicia, near Mount

Libanius. *Plin. lib. 5. cap. 20.* *Carne*, a city of *Æolis*. *Vide Stephanum.* *Carni*, a people bordering on the *Istri*. *Plin. lib. 3. cap. 18.* *Carnon*, or *Carmon*, a city of *Arcadia*. *Plin. lib. 4. cap. 6.* *Carnodunum*, a town of *Vindelicia*, on the *Danube*. *Ptolem. lib. 2. cap. 13.* *Carnorum*, the same with *Carnutes*, a region in *France*. *Calepin. Dictionarium. et Cæsar. lib. 6. cap. 13.* *Carnuntum*, a town on the confines of *Pannonia*. *Plin. lib. 37. cap. 3.* *Carnunti*, the inhabitants of said town. *Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12.* *Carnus*, an island of *Acarnania*; *vide Stephanum.* These are only a few of the many similar names, which might be collected. They are, however, sufficient to establish the great extent of the Celtic possessions. The attention of the reader is particularly requested to *Carnodunum*, which is the Celtic *Carn-Dun*, i. e. *Cairn-Town*, of which we have many in *Scotland*, particularly one at *Newton*, near *Arbroath*, and another in the parish of *Fordoun* near *Monboddie*. *Dun*, pronounced *Toon*, is the radix of the English *Town*. *Carn* is a word so peculiarly Celtic, that wherever we find any place so denominated, we may with certainty infer that it was inhabited by one or other of the Celtic tribes.

NOTE XL.—PAGE 121.

Were a thanksgiving for finishing their harvest.—This was the grandest of all the Celtic festivals. *Hallow even*, is still memorable in our days, for the number of fires kindled, and the arts or cantrips that are used to pry into futurity. This is also the night on which, according to vulgar tradition, the *warlocks* and *witches* (*Druids* and *Druidesses*) mounted on broomsticks, black cats, &c. used to transport themselves through the air, to *Lapland*, the moon, &c. It is needless to enlarge on customs so well known, but whoever would see a more full account of them may consult *Burns' Hallow e'en*. There is nothing analogous to these customs in the christian system; and we may therefore conclude, they were of *Druidic* origin. To the same source we may safely ascribe all the vulgar notions of

witchcraft, Fairies, &c. and the various cures and antidotes against witchcraft still preserved; of which I shall give one example.

Roan tree and red thread,
Put the witches to their speed.

The rejoicing for the finishing of the harvest is, in most places of Scotland called *Kirn*, a corruption of the word *Carn* or *Cairn*. I have remarked, in a former note, that the more solemn and extraordinary acts of religion were performed at the Cairn, and hence this feast or rejoicing, being one of the greatest solemnity, and always held at the Cairn, was by way of pre-eminence, dignified with the name. In later times this feast has been called a *maiden*, if the harvest is finished before Michaelmas, and if after it, a *Carlin*. In some places it is called the *Claybeck*, which is a corruption of the Gaelic *Cailoch*, i. e. an old woman, and is synonymous with the before-mentioned *Carlin*. But by far the most general name is *Kirn* or *Cairn*.

NOTE XLI.—PAGE 121.

To which Virgil alludes in his Golden Branch.—The interview of Æneas and the Cumæan Sybill, in the 7th book of Virgil, is extremely beautiful, but by far too long to be inserted in these notes.

Æneas, wishing to visit the Infernal Regions, applied to the Cumæan Sybill for advice and direction. She tells him he must first search for a *Golden Branch*, and carry it as a present to *Proserpine*.

Latet Arbore opaca
Anreis et foliis et lento vimine ramus.

i. e. "A branch with golden leaves and a slender stalk, is concealed in a dark tree."

Sed non ante datur telluris operta subire
Auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore fœtus.

i. e. "But no one can descend to the infernal regions, till he has first plucked this golden branch from the tree."

Æneas, by the guidance of two doves, discovers this golden branch, which is thus described.

Quale Solet Sylvis Brumali frigore viscum,
 Fronde virere nova,—————
 Talis erat species auri frondentis, opaca
 Illice.

i. e. "Such [was the] appearance of this golden branch on the dark oak, as when the *Mistletoe* uses to flourish with new vigour in the woods, during the winter-cold."

There were ten Sybills, viz. the Persian, the Lybian, the Delphian, the Cumæan, the Erythræan, the Samian, the Cumanian, or Eolian, the Hellespontian, the Phrygian, and the Tiburtinian. —*Vide Calepinum.*

Gellius, lib. 1. cap. 19. relates the manner in which these books called the *Sybilline*, were sold to *Tarquinius Priscus*, by an old woman, supposed the Cumanian Sybill. They were kept in the capitol with the greatest care, and consulted as an oracle on all emergencies. These books were burnt by *Stilico*, when he rebelled against Honorius and Arcadius. These Sybills are so famous in Roman history, that I shall only endeavour to analyze the name.

Sybill has been uniformly derived from the Greek *Theobule*, i. e. "the council of God." There are, however, only two of these Sybills, to whom the Greeks can have even the slightest claim. Had these Sybills been of Grecian origin, we might have expected, to have found at least the Delphic one, mentioned by Potter in his antiquities, when treating of the Delphic oracle. The fact is, Apollo himself is not a Grecian god, but borrowed from the Celts, as I shall presently shew.

Suadh or *Suidh* (the radix of the Latin *Suadeo*) is pronounced *Sui*, and signifies counsel or advice. *Suidh. Bheil*, pronounced *Sui-Beil*, signifies the *counsel of Bel*, and determines that these Sybills were exclusively prophetesses of *Bel* or *Apollo*, whereas the Greek *Theobule*, besides its utter incongruity to the word Sybill, would make them prophetesses at large without astringing them to any particular deity, and must therefore be

rejected. I have, in a former note, shewn that the Celtic *Drui*, was by the Greeks rendered *Dry*, with the addition of their terminating sigma. What in the Celtic is sounded *ui*, the Greeks render by their Ypsilon. Hence *Sui-Bel*, would be Græcized *Sybela*, which might easily degenerate into *Sybilla*. Pliny mentions a people in *Aquitania* (a part of Gaul) named the *Sybil-lates*, so that the Celts have more claims than one to the Sybills. Nat. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 19. The Gaelic etymon of *Sybill* makes her peculiarly the prophetess of *Bel* or *Apollo*. Virgil makes her exactly the same. Every one knows that gold does not grow on the branches of trees, and this golden branch is only the yellow (croceum) mistletoe, poetically hyberbolized. I do not, therefore, imagine, there can remain the least doubt, that the golden branch of Virgil was the *mistletoe* of the Druids, or that the Cumæan Sibyll was a Druidess. For the etymon of *Apollo* see next note.

NOTE XLII.—PAGE 122.

Carnea, &c.—The *Sun* was the earliest, as well as the most universal object of idolatrous worship. As such, his first name on record is *Bel*. Early after the deluge, we find mankind erecting to him a superb monument or temple at Babel. I have often wondered that none of our Celtic etymologists have rendered this word *Bal-Bheil*, i. e. “the house or temple of *Bel*.” They have given us a thousand etymologies far less probable. It was built on the vale of *Shinar* (Gallice *seanar* pronounced *Shinar*) i. e. “the vale of the *Senior* or *Elder*,” in antient times a title of the highest distinction, and was probably a sepulchral monument erected to the memory of their ancestor *Noah*, or some other distinguished individual. In the neighbourhood of Forfar we have a collateral instance, viz. *Bal-na-Shinar*, i. e. “the house of the *Senior* or *Elder*.” *Ur* of the Chaldees was the next edifice dedicated to *Bel*, and *on* or *Heliopolis* of *Ægypt*, was perhaps erected about the same time. *Ur* signifies *light* or *fire*, and is found in every dialect of the Celtic. It is also He-

brew, and is the radix of the Greek *Uranos*, the Latin *uro*, &c. A parish in Galloway is still named *Ur*. *Helipolis* is compounded of the Hebrew *El*, or *Eli*, i. e. "God and *Pol*, a city." The proper signification of *Pol*, is a circle, cities being antiently built in that form. *Concludere Sulco*, that is to encircle with a furrow, is a common phrase for marking out the boundary of a city or edifice. Most cities were built on eminences, for the sake of defence; and this was particularly the case in Egypt, where they had the inundation of the *Nile* to guard against. Hence the various significations of *Pol*, viz. a circle, the top of a hill, the crown of the head, a well or pool of water, a city, &c. *Pol* is the radix of the Greek *Poleo*, *Polis*, and *Polos*. In the Gaelic it is written *Poll*, and signifies a pool, &c. *El*, or *Eli*, is the radix of the Greek *Elios*, i. e. the sun. In the Gaelic this word is written *Al* or *Ail*, that is, a rock; and the adjective *Alla* signifies *rocky*, or *the most high*. From the Gaelic *All*, the Greeks seem to have formed their *Alios*, the same with *Elios*. *Ali* is in Turkey a title of the highest distinction. When Jacob went to Padan Aram, he set up a pillar, and called it *Beth-el*, i. e. the house of God. This, in the Gaelic, would be *Buth*, or *Beth-ail*, i. e. the house of the *Rock*. In scripture the Deity is called the *Rock of Ages*. The *Strength of Rocks* is ascribed to him, &c. Hence it is doubtful whether the Celts have not retained the radical, and the Hebrews, Egyptians, and Greeks, only the figurative meaning of the word.

The etymon of Apollo has been uniformly mistaken. *Calepin* (*vide Dictionarium*) derives it from the Greek verb *Apollymi*, and instead of the *Opifer*, or benefactor of mankind, makes him *Apollyon*, or the destroyer. There are several other derivations, but all equally absurd. Apollo is merely a corruption of the Gaelic *Abellio*, or *Aballa*, pronounced *Apellio*, or *Apalla*, i. e. the son of *the most high*, and differs little in orthography, and nothing in signification, from the Greek *Ap'-Elio*, or *Ap'-Alío*, i. e. the descendant of the *sun*. Most of the Celtic gods, *Al-el-lío*, *Samán*, *Bealan*, &c. are diminutives. Thus, I hope, it is clear, that *Elios*, or *Alios*, as well as their compound *Apollo*,

were borrowed deities; and hence it will not appear wonderful that the Greeks borrowed the religious rites peculiar to this deity at the same time.

The Dorians, instead of *Apollon*, used *Apellon*, which approaches much nearer to the Gaelic *Abellio*. It may be here necessary to remark, that *Ullapool*, in Ross-shire (Gallice *Ulla-Poll*) signifies the circle of devotion. *Ulla* is perhaps merely a corruption of the Gaelic *Alla*, whence the Saxons formed their *Hallow* and *Haly*, now written *Holy*. If so, the Egyptian *Heliopol*, the Greek *Heliopolis*, and the Gaelic *Ullapoll*, are strictly synonymous. The Egyptians also named this city *On*. Now *Onn* in the Gaelic still signifies a stone. The origin of this city was, therefore, most probably, a stone set up in honour of the Deity, such as Jacob set up at Bethel, and, when a city was added, it received the name of *Helipol*, i. e. the city or circle of the Deity; for all ancient cities were circular, or as nearly so as the nature of the eminences on which they were built would admit. This we know was the form of Troy, Carthage, the Acropolis of Athens, Rome, and a thousand others. Nay, Rome itself derives its name from this very circumstance, and not from *Romulus*, as generally imagined; for it is the Greek *Romē*, signifying a strength or fort, synonymous with the Gaelic *Dun*, and derived from the Greek verb *Roō*, or *Ronymi*, to surround or encircle. *Hirtius*, in his book *de Bello Hispaniensi*, cap. 3. mentions a city near Cordova of the name of *Ulla*, perhaps the *Promontorium Sacram* (hill of worship) mentioned by Pliny, lib. 4. cap. 22. This city stood on the river *Bætis*; and the same author, speaking of this district, informs us, lib. 3. cap. 1. “that it was inhabited by Celts, and that it was manifest from their sacred rites, language, and names of towns, that they were descended from the *Celtiberi* of Lusitania.” We need not, therefore, hesitate to assign a Celtic origin to *Ulla*, and identify it with *Ullapool* before-mentioned. The circular mode of building before stated was borrowed from the circularity of the *Sun*, the supreme object of Ethnic adoration.

I hope I have already sufficiently evinced, that *Apollo* is not

of Grecian, but Celtic origin; and if any thing further were wanting to establish this point, it is presumed that *Carnea* will compensate the deficiency. These *Carnea* were feasts held in honour of Apollo, over all Greece, but chiefly at Sparta, where Callimachus (see his hymn to Apollo) says they were first introduced. This festival was celebrated at Sparta in the month *Carneus*, and at Athens in the month *Metageitnion*, both corresponding to our month of May. The whole festival was clearly descriptive of a military expedition. Nine tents were erected, and the festival lasted nine days. The chief priest was called *Agetes*, i. e. general. Out of every tribe five ministers were chosen, named *Carneatai*, i. e. *Carn.men*, or attendants at the *Carn*. The hymns sung were called *Carneioi nomoi*, i. e. *Carn tunes*, or hymns. The musicians, on these occasions, contended for victory. The first prize was won by Terpander.— See *Potter's Antiquities of Greece*, vol. 1. p. 374 & 380.

With regard to the etymon of *Carneus*, and the origin of this festival; there has been much diversity of opinion. *Bryant* and *Dr. Tytler* derive *Carneus* from the Greek *Keren*, which *Bryant* renders a *Horn*, and *Dr. Tytler* a *Stork*, informing us at the same time that *Clarios* is a name of the same import, whereas *Clarios* is evidently derived from *Claros*, a city of *Ionia*, famous for an oracle of Apollo. See *Tytler's Callimachus*, p. 44. & 45. Others have imagined that *Carneus* is a corruption of *Cyreneus*, from *Cyrene*, a town of *Lybia*. This idle idea is sufficiently confuted by Callimachus in the following lines elegantly translated by *Dr. Tytler* :—

Some Boedromius, Clarios some implore,
But nam'd Carneus on my native shore.
Thec, great Carneus! Sparta first possess'd,
Next Thera's isle was with thy presence bless'd,
You cross'd the swelling main from Thera's bowers,
And then resided in *Cyrene's* towers, &c.—p. 44. & 45.

Thus we see that Apollo was named *Carneus* at Sparta, long before he was known at Cyrene. It would be almost endless to advert to all the groundless opinions vented on this head. It is

sufficient for my purpose to have incontrovertibly established that *Carneus* was, among the Greeks, a name of Apollo, and that in their language, no rational or satisfactory etymon of the word can be found. Indeed when we see such eminent Greek scholars as Mr. Bryant and Dr. Tytler rendering *Carneus* a horn, or a stork, and at the same time making it synonymous with *Clarios*, it is evident the Greek analysis is untenable, and must be given up. Such has been, and always will be, the fate of hunting for etymologies in a language where they are not to be found.

Carn is a word so peculiarly Celtic, that it can hardly be mistaken. Its regular adjective is *Carnach*, *Carneach*, *Carnadh*. This last is pronounced *Carnay*, to which the Greeks added their termination *os*, and formed *Carneios*. It signifies any thing pertaining to a Carn, and hence frequently signifies a priest. Apollo was named *Carneios*, from being worshipped at the Carns, in the same manner as Jupiter was named *Olympius* from being worshipped at Olympus, or the said Apollo Delphicus from being worshipped at Delphi. Indeed Mr. Bryant very rationally supposes, that the numerous appellations of the deities originated in the Greeks mistaking the place of worship for the deity worshipped, so that the different names of the gods were only the names of as many temples. If so, what name could have been found in the Celtic districts, more appropriate to Apollo than *Carneios*. See *Bryant's Mythology*, vol. 1. p. 107. In the Celtic we have many derivatives of *Carn*, viz. *Carnan*, a little Carn, *Carnam*, to make a Carn, *Carnal*, a heap of stones, *Carnta*, piled up, &c. &c.

Fortunately the Spartans have preserved to us in their month *Carneus* the name of the deity worshipped, and the Athenians in their month *Metageitnion*, which signifies a transvicination, or change of neighbourhood, have preserved the important fact, that this festival was introduced into Greece by foreigners. I have already observed that both these months are the same, and this Celtic colony which migrated to Sparta must have been very powerful, otherwise the Spartans and Athenians would not

each have denominated one of their months to perpetuate the memory of the event. The nine tents and nine days which the feast lasted, probably point the time this colony took up in migrating to Greece. Some Grecian accounts say they came from *Melite*, others from *Miletus* or *Acarnania*. Though we should grant all, or any one of these positions, it will, instead of invalidating, greatly confirm the Celtic claim to this colony. If from *Melite* the Carthaginians built this city, and the Phœnician and Celtic religious rites bear such a resemblance that Pinkerton pronounces them the same. If from *Miletus*, it is well known the Milesians make a conspicuous figure in the Irish annals; and as to *Acarnania*, it is merely the Gaelic *A' carnunach*, (Ach-Carnanach, i. e. the Carn Hill, or hill abounding with carns) terminated according to the Greek idiom.

Pausanias makes *Baco*, a Delphian lady say, that *Olen* with the Hyperboreans founded the Delphic oracle, and was the first who returned answers in heroic verse. The passage is thus translated by Mr. Hutchin.

No Grecian yet warm'd with poetic fire
 Could fit th' unpolish'd language to the lyre,
 Till the first priest of Phœbus *Olen* rose,
 And chang'd for smoother verse their stunning prose.

See Potter's Antiquities of Greece, vol. 1. p. 244, 245.

Pythagoras, to make men believe that he was the Hyperborean Apollo, shewed one of his thighs all of gold in a full assembly at the Olympic games, if we credit Jamblicus and Porphyrius. *See Dacier's life of Pythag. p. 69.*

As I will frequently have occasion to revert to this point, I shall only remark, that Mr. Potter is of opinion that the Grecian religion was a compound of every thing, and borrowed from all the surrounding nations. *See Antiquities of Greece, vol. 1. p. 173.*

NOTE XLIII.—PAGE 126.

Tum Soracte satum, &c.—Dr. Smith, p. 47, has inserted this quotation at full length, but omitted Mr. Toland's translation of it. On the contrary he has omitted the original quotation of

Mr. Toland from *Virgil's Æneid*, i. e. "*Summe Delm; sancte custos, &c.*" and given us Mr. Dryden's translation of it. See *Dr. Smith's History of the Druids*, p. 48, and *Toland's History of the Druids*, p. 126 & 127. Both these quotations, and their translations stand at full length in Toland's history, but the doctor, in order to conceal his obligations to Mr. Toland, has given us the original of the one, and the translation of the other. Indeed, if the reader will give himself the trouble to collate Dr. Smith's and Mr. Toland's history, he will at once perceive that he has made use of the whole of Toland's notes and materials, without making the slightest acknowledgment.

NOTE XLIV.—PAGE 128.

Umbrians under the name of Sabins.—Mr. Toland has so fully proved the Umbrians or Sabins to be Celts, that he has left me little to do on this head. But as Mr. Toland's work is only a brief summary, I hope the reader will pardon me if I go a little into detail. Independant of historic testimony, the very name is Celtic. The Gaelic verbs *Umbracam* and *Druidam* are synonymous, and signify to embrace, shut up, or inclose. The Gaelic adjectives *Umbracht* and *Druidte* are also synonymous, and signify, *shut up*, or *inclosed*, i. e. "retired or contemplative men." *Plin. lib. 3. cap. 14*, derives *Umbri*, *ab Imbre*, i. e. "from rain," because, as he says, they were the most ancient inhabitants of Italy; and alone survived the deluge. This is another instance of the folly of the Greeks and Romans, who endeavoured to find the etymon of all words in their own languages. *Calepine* derives *Umbri* from *Umbra*, on account of the umbrageous nature of the country. But this is a mistake of the same kind, for it is extremely probable that the Romans derived their *Umbra*, as well as all its derivatives from the Gaelic. *Calepine* says it contained 300 cities before they were destroyed by the Etrusci. Were the names still remaining in antient countries clearly ascertained to be Celtic, duely weighed, they would furnish perhaps the best criterion, to determine the Celtic migrations. In antient *Umbria* we find theriver *Umbra* (ho-

die *Umbro*, as the Italians use the Ablative instead of the Nominative) the same with the *Humber* in England. In the same district we find a town of the name of *Narnia*, the same with *Nairn* in Scotland. Here we also find a man of the name of *Tages* (Gallice *Tagh* or *Tadgh*, the same name as that of the grand father of Fingal) of whom *Cicero*, *de divinatione*, lib. 2, gives the following account. *Tages* Quidam dicitur, in agro Tarquiniensi, quum terra araretur, et sulcus altius impressus, extitisse repente, et eum affatus esse qui arabat, &c. i. e. "When a man was plowing in the Tarquinian field, and had drawn a deep furrow, a certain one *Tages* is said to have started up suddenly, and addressed him." But this *Tages*, according to the books of the Etrusci, is said to have had the appearance of a boy, but the wisdom of an old man. When the plowman, terrified at the sight of him, had raised a loud cry, the people assembled, and all Etruria convened in a short time to that place. Then *Tages* spoke many things in the audience of the multitude, who marked all his words, and committed them to writing. But his whole speech was confined to the Haruspician doctrine, i. e. "the art of divination by the entrails of victims, &c." *Ovid*. lib. 15. *Metam.* mentions this same *Tages*.

Indigenæ dixere *Tagem*, qui primus Hetruscam
Edoeuit gentem casus aperire futuros, &c.

i. e. "The aboriginal inhabitants call him *Tages*, who first taught the Tuscan nation to disclose future events."

Were we in this manner to pervade Europe, and contrast the names found therein, with the names in any particular district of Britain or Ireland, we might form a tolerable conjecture of the origin of the inhabitants. The *Fir-Bolg* of Ireland (*Viri Belgici*,) are unquestionably a colony from Belgic Gaul. *Caernarvon* in Wales, (*Civitates Narbonensis*) derives its name from *Narbbonne*, a town in *Gallia Narbonensis*. The *Taixali* of Aberdeenshire were probably from the *Texel* in Holland. The *Fins* are frequent in Britain and Ireland, and on the Baltic we find a whole district (Finland) bearing their name. *Tacitus de*

Morib. Germ. cap. 15. gives a particular description of these *Fenni* or *Finni*. Nor is this mode of reasoning, if kept within reasonable bounds, either fanciful or hypothetical. We know for certain that British colonists have carried British names to every quarter of the globe, particularly to America and the West Indies. Were all authentic history lost, still the identity of these names, with names still remaining in Britain, would clearly establish their origio. Mankind in all ages have evinced the strongest attachment to the names of their progenitors, benefactors, deities, and native soil, and these they have generally carried along with them, and preserved under every difficulty and danger.

NOTE XLV.—PAGE 129.

O patron of Soracte's high abodes, &c.—Within the country of antient *Umbria* stood the celebrated hill of *Soracte*. Of this word I have been able to find no satisfactory analysis. In the Gaelic language we find *Sorach* or *Sorch* an eminence, and the adjective *Sorachta* acervated, perhaps in allusion to the *Acervus* or *Carn* of Apollo, which stood on this hill. That the Greeks and Romans might render the Gaelic *Sorachta* in their language *Soracte* is by no means improbable. What will add weight to this conjecture is that the Greek verb *Sorcuo* and the Gaelic verb *Soracham* are synonymous, both signifying to acervate. On this hill the *Hirpins* (see *Toland's quotation from Pliny*) performed their yearly sacrifice to Apollo. One of the feats practised on these occasions by them was dancing over the fire barefooted, for which they enjoyed many important immunities by a decree of the Roman senate. These *Hirpins* used to besmear their feet with a certain ointment (see *Toland's quotation from Varro*) which rendered them invulnerable to the fire. That such an ointment was known to the antients is beyond all doubt. *Ovid, lib. 2. Fab. 1.* clearly alludes to it in the following words:

Tum pater ora sui sacro medicamine nati
Contigit, & rapidæ fecit patientia flammæ.

i. e. "Then the father (Phæbus) rubbed the face of his son (Phaethon) with a sacred ointment, and made it capable of enduring the rapid flame."

I have observed, in a former note, that Dr. Smith confounds the *Gabha-bheil* (jeopardy of Beal) with this juggling trick of the *Hirpins*, and (p. 46) gives us a particular description of, what he imagines, a fiery ordeal, or trial by fire. *Gabha-Bheil*, (the clutches of Beal) is a proverbial expression importing that every victim devoted to that deity must be sacrificed. Though there are not wanting instances where a victim has escaped, still these instances are extremely rare, and hence the *Gabha-Bheil* signifies *the most imminent danger*. *Between Bel's two fires* (Ittir dha theine Bheil) is a phrase of the very same import. As to the *Hirpins* there was no ordeal at all in their case. They were supported at the public expence. They were no criminals, and as to the effects of the fire, they were sufficiently guarded against it by the ointment before mentioned. It is very extraordinary that any man should have dreamed of an *Ordeal*, where there was neither criminal, trial, nor danger. The custom itself is, however, unquestionably Druidical, and a convincing proof that the *Umbrians* were Celts.

The only other Celtic peculiarity which I shall notice in this district is the Etruscan god *Æsar*, See *Antient Universal History*, vol. 18. p. 540 & 542, &c. Several attempts have been made to derive this god from the Hebrew; from the Celtic *Esus*, &c. The fact is the word is pure Gaelic, as any one capable of turning up a Gaelic dictionary will at once perceive. *Eas*, and *Easar* or *Aes*, and *Aesar* (for the Gaelic orthography is not well settled) are synonymous, and signify a *Cataract*, and hence figuratively, any thing impetuous or irresistible. It is a beautiful and appropriate emblem of the omnipotence of the deity. This word *Aes* occurs frequently in Italy. *Aesis*, a river of *Umbria*, mentioned by *Pliny*, lib. 3. cap. 14. *Aesis*, a town of the same region, mentioned by *Ptolemy*. *Æsium*, mentioned by *Strabo*, the same as the preceding. *Aesinates*, the inhabitants of the said town, *Pliny*, lib. 3. cap. 14. *Aesisium*, a town

of the *Umbri*, vide Ptolem. *Aesa*, a town of Thrace, vide *Stephanum*. *Aesarns*, a river near Crotona, in Magna Græcia, *Strabo*, lib. 7.

Notwithstanding the many conjectures respecting the Tuscan god *Æsar*, it is the Umbrian, or (which is the same thing) the Celtic *Aesar*, adopted by the Tuscaus, the conquerors of the Umbrians. The Celtic god *Esus*, about whom there have also been many groundless conjectures, is merely the Gaelic *Aes*, or *Eas*, or *Es*, (for they are all the same) latinically terminated *Esus*. *Aesfhear*, in the Gaelic language, still signifies god, and literally means *the man of the Cataract*.

NOTE XLVI.—PAGE 131.

In most places of this last kingdom, the common people believe these obelisks to be men transformed into stones by the magic of the Druids.—We find the very same idea mentioned in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. Druid and magician are synonymous terms, and what could be more natural, than that the ignorant vulgar should ascribe to the magical power of the Druids, such works as seemed to exceed human exertion. A Roman causey through *Lochar Moss*, in Dumfries-shire, is still ascribed to the magic of *Michael Scott*. A thousand such instances might be condescended on.

NOTE XLVII.—PAGE 131.

We find the practice as early as St. Patrick himself, who, having built the church of Donach-Patrick, &c.—That St. Patrick should have sanctified obelisks or colosses, erected in the times of paganism, is a very extraordinary circumstance, and deserves particular attention. That idolatry originated in a superstitious respect for the dead, can hardly be doubted. Be this as it may, we find the ancient places of worship extremely simple. Jacob set up an obelisk, or single erect stone, at Bethel. Apion accuses Moses of departing from the established custom of worshipping at obelisks.—*Vide Josephum*, p. 724.—Among the

Celts, obelisks, or erect stones, were the only places of worship. The obelisks sanctified by St. Patrick were undoubtedly Druidical places of worship, and he could have no possible motive for consecrating them, except that of converting them into christian churches. On the other hand, it can hardly be imagined that he should have been so circumscribed as to be obliged to make use of the Druidical temples, or that he could have done so without the consent of the Druids. The most natural inference is, that, seeing the Irish addicted to their idolatrous temples and priests, St. Patrick sanctified the former, and converted the latter, making both subservient to the important purpose of propagating christianity. Indeed Mr. Toland asserts, *that none came sooner into the christian religion, or made a better figure in it, than the Druids.*

If this hypothesis is well founded, it clears up some points in our ecclesiastical history, on which we have hitherto little more than mere conjecture. There appears to have been a studied design in St. Patrick and his successors, to consign the very name of *Druid* to oblivion. It is not mentioned (as far as I know) by any ecclesiastical writer from the 4th to the 15th century, though it still existed in the Gaelic language, and in the numerous names of temples, and other places denominated from the Druids. This policy of the early ecclesiastics in Ireland was founded on expediency, as well as necessity. The name *Druid* was one of the very first respect among the Celts. It was nowhere mentioned in the sacred records, and there was consequently no express scriptural command to eradicate this particular species of idolatry. To remedy this defect, the name appears to have been altered to *Magi* and *Chaldei* (Magicians and Chaldees), names strictly synonymous with that of *Druid*, and clearly condemned in scripture. Innes, in his *Critical Essay* (as has been noticed in a former note), vol. 2. p. 464. says—“in the Latin lives of St. Patrick and Columba, the Druids are called *Magi*.” In *Adomnan's Life of St. Columba*, we have an account of an interview betwixt that saint and a few of these *Magi*, at the palace or castle of *Brudi*, king of the Picts, in the

following words:—"Sed et illud non est tacendum quod aliquando de tali incomparabili vocis ejus Sublevatione juxta Brudæi regis munitionem, accidisse traditur. Nam ipse sanctus cum paucis fratribus extra Regis munitionem dum vespertinales Dei laudes ex more celebraret, quidam Magi ad eos propius accedentes in quantum poterant prohibere conabantur, ne de ore ipsorum divinæ laudis sonus inter Gentiles audiretur. Quo comperto sanctus quadragesimum, et quartum Psalmum decantare cæpit. Mirumque in modum ita vox ejus in aere eodem momento instar alicujus formidabilis tonitruï elevata est, ut et rex et populus intolerabili essent pavore perterriti." i. e. "Nor must I omit to mention that incomparable elevation of his voice, which is said to have happened near the castle of King Brudi. For when the saint, with a few of his brethren, according to custom, was celebrating the evening praises of God, certain *Magi* approaching near to them, did every thing in their power to prevent the Gentiles from hearing the sound of the divine praise which proceeded from their mouths. Which being known, the saint began to sing the fortieth and fourth psalm. And his voice was, in a wonderful manner, in that very moment, elevated into the air, like a formidable clap of thunder, so that the king and the people were struck with intolerable fear." Messingham, in his life of the same saint, lib. 1. ch. 13. p. 168, gives us a similar instance in these words,—“Eodem in tempore vir venerandus quandam a *Broichano Mago* Scoticam postulavit servam, humanitatis miseratione liberandam—i. e. “At the same time the venerable man (St. Columba) demanded from Broichanus the magician, a certain Scottish maid-servant, whom, from motives of pity and humanity, he intended to set at liberty.” It is worthy of remark, that St. Columba converted and baptized *Brudi* in 565, at which time the Magi or Druids before-mentioned were found at his court—a clear proof that the Romans did not completely extirpate the Druids in Britain, as generally imagined.

Merlin the wild, commonly called *Merlinus Caledonius*, an inhabitant of Alclud, and unquestionably a Druid, flourished about 570. The *English Merlin*, or *Merlin the Magician*, also

a Druid, lived about a century earlier. Of the Scottish *Merlin*, or *Merlin the wild*, we have a curious account furnished by Pinkerton (vol. 2. page 275—276) in a quotation from Geoffrey of Monmouth:—

Dux Venedatorum Feridurus Bella gerebat
 Contra Gueunoloun, Scotiæ qui regna regebat.—
 Venerat Merlinus ad bellum cum Feridaro,
 Rex quoque Cambrorum Rodarens.—
 Ecce victori venit obuius alter ab aula
 Rodarchi Regis Cambrorum, qui Ganiadam
 Duxerat uxorem, formosa conjuge felix ;
 Merlini soror ista fuit
 Aferrique jubet vestes, Volucres que, Canesque,
 Quadrupedesque citos, aurum, gemmasque mirantes,
 Pocula quæ sculpsit Guiclandus in urbe sigeni,
 Singula prætendit Vati Rodarchus et offert,—
 Corruet urbs Aclud, &c.

i. e. “*Feridurus* general of the *Venedati*, made war on *Guenolous* king of the Scots. *Merlin* had accompanied *Feridurus* to the war, as also *Rodarchus* king of the Cambri. Lo there comes another from the hall of *Rodarchus* king of the Cambri, to meet the conqueror, who had married *Ganieda*, and was happy in a beautiful wife. She was the sister of *Merlin*. And *Rodarchus* orders garments, hawks, hounds, swift steeds, gold, shining gems, and goblets which *Guiclandus* had carved in the city *Sigeni*, to be brought, and presents and offers them one by one to the prophet. The city *Alcluid* shall fall,” &c.

We thus see that *Merlin the wild* (*Merlinus Sylvestris*) was no mean person. His sister *Ganieda* was nobly married, and he himself for his vaticination, which was a prominent part of the Druidical office, received a present which might have suited an emperor. It were an easy matter to trace Druids even down to the present day under the different denominations of warlocks, magicians, inchanters, charmers, fortune tellers, jugglers, &c. But this is unnecessary, as it must occur to every intelligent person, that Druidism, though it has changed its name, is not extinct, but is more or less practised in every district, and almost

in every family of the kingdom. So far respecting the Druids under the name of *Magi*.

In treating of the Druids under the name of *Chaldees*, or as it has been corruptly written *Culdees*, and by the monks latinized *Culdaei*, *Keldaei*, and *Kelidæi*, I am well aware that I have many difficulties to contend with. One party maintain that they were presbyterian, and another that they were episcopalian. Their origin is totally unknown, and even the very name has afforded scope for more than a dozen etymologies, all equally plausible, and equally unsatisfactory. In this state of things, it will readily be admitted, that the origin, name, and history of the *Culdees*, are involved in great obscurity. Pinkerton, (vol. 2. page 272 and 273) asserts that they were all Irish, and consequently they must have received Christianity from St. Patrick or his successors. But it is admitted, on all hands, that they were *lay Ecclesiastics*, a circumstance which could not have happened, had they been regularly ordained by St. Patrick or his successors, and sent to convert Scotland. To whatever side we turn ourselves, if we follow the common opinion respecting the *Culdees*, we find uncertainty and inconsistency. But if once we admit that the Druids were *Culdees*, every difficulty vanishes, and the simple fact is, that St. Patrick availed himself of the aid of the Druids to convert Ireland. That, in compliance with popular prejudice, he sanctified and made use of as many of their temples, as suited his purpose. That these Druids were kept in the subordinate station of lay ecclesiastics, and not admitted to the dignity of regular clergy. That by degrees they returned to Scotland, from which they had been expelled by the Romans, and formed settlements to themselves independent of St. Patrick and his successors, and maintained themselves in these settlements till finally supplanted by the regular clergy about the middle of the 13th century.

In the register of the priory of St. Andrews, we have some important facts relative to the *Culdees*. “Habebantur tamen in Ecclesia S’ti Andreæ, quota et quanta tunc erat, tredecim per successionem carnalem quos *Keledcos* appellant, qui secundum

suam æstimationem, et hominum traditionem, magis quam secundum sanctorum statuta patrum, vivebant." i. e. "Yet there were in the church of St. Andrew, such as it then was, thirteen by carnal succession, whom they call *Keldees*, who lived according to their own opinion, and the tradition of men, rather than according to the statutes of the holy fathers."

And further, "Personæ autem supra memoratæ redditus et possessiones proprias habebant; quas cum e vita decederent, uxores eorum, quas publice tenebant, filii quoque, vel filiæ, propinqui vel Generi, inter se dividebant." i. e. "But the persons before mentioned (the *Keldees*) had proper incomes and possessions, which, when they died, their wives whom they kept publicly, their sons, daughters, relations, or sons-in-law, divided among themselves."

The dedication of this Culdee settlement, then named *Kilrimont*, i. e. "*the temple on the king's mount*," to St. Andrew, is narrated in the said register as follows. "Locum vero ipsum nota evidente designatum, ex magna devotione septies circumierunt. Rex *Hungus*, et ipse Episcopus *Regulus*, et Viri Cæteri, circuitione et perambulatione ita disposita septena præcessit Episcopus *Regulus* super caput suum cum omni veneratione Reliquias S'ti Apostoli deferens, suo sacro conventu Episcopum cum Comitibus Hymnidicis sequente. Illos vero devotus secutus Rex *Hungus* est pedentim, Deo intimas preces et gratias fundens devotas. Regem vero secuti sunt viri optimates, totius regni nobiliores. Ita locum ipsum Deo commendarunt, et pace regia munierunt. In signum vero Regiæ commendationis, per loci circuitum divisim 12 Cruces lapideas viri Sancti erexerunt; et Deo cæli humiliter supplicabant, ut omnes in illo loco mente devota, et pura intentione orationis suae petitionis efficaciam obtinerent." i. e. "They, seven times, with great devotion, circumambulated this place, marked out with distinct limits. King *Hungus*, Bishop *Regulus* himself, and their other attendants, ordered the manner of this sevenfold circumambulation as follows. Bishop *Regulus* went first, carrying on his head, with all due veneration, the relics of the holy apostle, the sacred convention following the

bishop, with their attendants, singing hymns. The devout King Hungus (Ungust) followed them on foot pouring out sincere prayers and devout thanks to God. The king was followed by the graudees and nobles of the whole kingdom. In this manner they commended the place to God, and fortified it by royal permission. As a monument of this royal commendation, these holy men erected twelve stone crosses, at equal distances, encircling the place, and humbly supplicated God, that all in that place, who had holy minds and pure hearts, might obtain the fulfilment of their prayer and supplication."

This dedication of *Kilrimont*, a *Culdee* establishment, took place about 825; nor did the *Culdees* at this time leave it; for we are further told—*Kelidei namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæ modica nimis erat, suum officium more suo celebrabant, i. e.* "For the *Culdees* performed divine worship in a certain corner of the church, after their own manner, which was too small for their accommodation." The register further adds—*Nec potuit tantum auferri malum, usque ad tempus felicitis memoriæ Regis Alexandri, i. e.* "Nor could this evil be removed till the time of King Alexander, of blessed memory." This Alexander died in 1124, so that the church of *Kilrimont* presents the singular phenomenon of the regular clergy and *Culdees* performing divine worship in one, and the same church, during nearly 300 years.

After the relentless massacre of the *Druids* in the island of *Mona* (*Anglesey*), mentioned by *Tacitus*, in his annals, lib. 14. ch. 5. they appear to have kept carefully out of the way. The Roman authors make no mention of them afterwards, till *Amianus Marcellinus* found them in the Isle of Man. In *Cæsar's* time (vide lib. 6. cap. 13.) the chief school of the *Druids* was in Britain; and he hence infers, that *Druidism* was invented in Britain, and thence translated into Gaul. *Pliny* (lib. 30. cap. 1.) hazards a conjecture equally groundless, when he tells us, "that Britain celebrated *Magic* (synonymous with *Druidism*) in such an astonishing manner, and with such great ceremonies, that it appears to have given it to the Persians." The fact is, that the *Druids* found the turbulent and warlike state of Gaul ill suited

to their contemplative studies, and transferred their chief school to Britain. On the invasion of Britain by the Romans, they would doubtless use the same precaution, and transfer their records and chief establishment to Ireland. This sufficiently accounts for the number and antiquity of the Irish manuscripts. The Irish were Celts, and certainly had their Druidical establishments long prior to this period. And there cannot remain a doubt that the British Druids found Ireland their last asylum. That an order of men, so numerous, so learned, and so highly venerated by all ranks, should have totally disappeared, on the arrival of St. Patrick, is not once to be imagined. On the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis (quoted by Mr. Toland in the 6th note on his first letter) there never was a martyr to Christianity in Ireland, so that the Druids did not fall victims to the new order of things. Another proof that the Druids made little or no resistance to Christianity is St. Patrick's burning from 180 to 300 volumes of their records, as related by *Dudley Forbes* and *Dr. Kennedy*, see Toland's history, page 105. That any individual, however respectable, could have compelled the Druids to give up their records, in order to be destroyed, is not once to be imagined; and this great sacrifice must be considered as a voluntary act of piety, similar to that recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles*, ch. 19. v. 19. St. Patrick's præcursor, *Palladius* (see Pinkerton, v. 2. p. 263.) was wholly unsuccessful in his mission to Ireland, and found it in a state of *Paganism*. St. Patrick's success was, probably, in a great measure, owing to his using the Druidical temples as places of worship, and gaining over to his interest the Druids, the then established clergy, by which means the deeply rooted prejudices of the nation were in a great measure complied with, and at any rate not directly thwarted. The numerous places of christian worship still beginning with the word *Kil* in Ireland and Scotland, which is the most appropriate Gaelic name for a temple, clearly indicate that they were Druidical temples appropriated to the purposes of Christianity.

In Ireland, the Culdees seem to have risen to little or no emi-

nence, being always subject to, and early incorporated with the regular Irish clergy. It is in Scotland that they make the most conspicuous figure, where they formed themselves into sodalities or fraternities, independent of the Irish clergy, or those of *Jóna*. Indeed, if we credit Pinkerton, (v. 2. p. 273.) they were all Irish, (that is, originally from Ireland) and the only clergy in Scotland, from the time of Columba till the 11th century. This period exceeds five hundred years.

Dr. Jamieson (see his *History of the Culdees*) expresses a doubt whether the *Magi* at the court of King *Brudi* were Druids, but admits that they were heathen priests. Cæsar (lib. 6. cap. 21.) asserts that the Germans (Goths) had neither priests nor sacrifices. There is not a vestige of religion throughout the whole extent of Germany, mentioned by Tacitus, which cannot be clearly proved to be Druidical, and derived from the Celts—the præcursors of the Goths. So late as the beginning of the 7th century (see note 33d), Edwin, king of Northumbria, a Saxon (Gothic) prince, when converted by Paulinus, was attended by his *Coifi*, or Archdruid. That, therefore, the *Magi*, mentioned in the Latin lives of St. Patrick and Columba, were Druids (as mentioned by *Innes*), can admit of no doubt.

It is equally probable that the Culdees were converted Druids; and if this is admitted, every difficulty vanishes; every thing respecting their name, origin, and history, becomes clear and consistent; but as I know of no direct authority to support this hypothesis, and as Keith, Dalrymple, Jamieson, and others who have written on the subject, have taken opposite ground, I merely hazard it as a probable conjecture, and with that diffidence which becomes a candid enquirer after truth, when traversing uncertain ground.

NOTE XLVIII.—PAGE 87.

The temples of the Druids.—In the Gaelic we have several words signifying a temple, or church, as *Eaglais*, *Teampul*, *Daimhleach*, *Annoid*, *Lann*, *Durteach*, *Cill*. The two first are evident corruptions of the Roman *Ecclesia* and *Templum*, and

crept into the language when christianity was introduced. *Daimhleach* means the stone of the learned, and is a term nearly synonymous with *Cloch-an-Dichtor*, i. e. the stone of the teacher. *Annoid* is probably *An-noid*, i. e. the congregation or assembly. *Durteach* (*Durum Tectum*) means the hard or durable house, religious edifices being built more durably than ordinary houses, which were constructed of wattles and mud. *Lann* is rather peculiar to the Welch dialect. *Cill*, or *Ceal*, pronounced *Keel*, radically signifies the heaven, or sky, and hence figuratively, any thing circular. It is synonymous with the Latin *Cælum*, and the Greek *Coilon*, and perhaps the radix of both. When figuratively taken to signify a place of worship, it is also the radix of the Latin *Cella*. *Cill* appears to have been by far the most appropriate and general word for a Druidical temple, and it every where occurs. Such places as bear the name of temples, are mere translations of this word.

NOTE XLIX.—PAGE 137.

Commonly two temples stand near each other, for reasons you will see in our history.—This history Mr. Toland did not live to accomplish; and Dr. Smith, who servilely follows Mr. Toland in every point of importance, must have been well aware of this passage, though he neither attempts to solve the difficulty, nor so much as once alludes to it. In whatever manner Toland might have explained the matter, it is evident he was well acquainted with it. He was the first who pointed out the circumstance; and no man else, up to the present day, has attempted a solution of it.

In examining the Druidic antiquities, and particularly their circles, it cannot be too frequently, nor too strongly inculcated, that they were the supreme judges in all matters, civil as well as religious, and from their decision there lay no appeal. Cæsar (lib. 6. cap. 13.) is extremely particular on this head; nor is he contradicted by any author, ancient or modern. Acting in this double capacity of priests and civil magistrates, it was naturally to be expected that they would be provided with a judi-

cial, as well as a *religious* circle. Whoever minutely examines the Druidical circles will find this distinction well founded. The sun (Beal or Bealan) was the principal Celtic deity, and the east, or sun rising, the most honourable point. The religious circle occupied this honourable position and the judicial one stood commonly due west of it. The former was generally larger and more magnificent than the latter. The temple consisted of one circle of erect stones. In the centre stood an erect stone larger than any of the rest. Near this, and generally due east of it, lay an oblong flat stone, which served the purpose of an altar. On the north point, which was the door or entry, stood a trough, filled with water, with which every one who entered was sprinkled. It appears to have been the same as the Greek *Perirrante-rion*, and to have served exactly the same purpose. See *Potter's Antiquities of Greece*, v. 1. p. 176. These circles consist of 7, 12, or 19 erect stones, all of which are supposed to have had their respective astronomical references, to the number of days in the week, the signs of the Zodiac, or the cycle of the moon. These particulars may suffice as the outlines of a Druidical temple.

Though the judicial circle in the exterior differed nothing from the temple, in the interior it differed widely. There was commonly no obelisc in the centre, no altar, no perirrante-rion, or sprinkling trough. It consisted always of one, sometimes of two, and when the establishment was of great magnificence, of three septa or divisions, being three circles all terminating in the southern point, and intended to accommodate the three different ranks of the Celts, whom Cæsar (lib. 6. cap. 13.) divides into *Druides*, *equites*, and *plebs*—i. e. Druids, nobility, and commons. An ignorance of, or want of attention to the above distinction, has led those who are *Celtic-mad* to imagine that all these circles were Druidic temples, whilst Pinkerton, who was certainly *Gothic-mad*, asserts that they were, without exception, Gothic courts of justice. Both are extremes, and truth lies between. This diversity of opinion obliges me to treat the Druidic circles in two different points of view—1mo, as temples; 2do, as courts of justice.

THE DRUIDIC CIRCLES CONSIDERED AS TEMPLES.

When Pinkerton asserts (v. 1. p. 405.) that Druidism was of Phœnician origin, and again, (ibid. p. 407.) that the Druids had no temples, but worshipped in groves, he shews his utter ignorance of ancient history. The Carthagenians (see *Hurd's Religious Rites and Ceremonies*, p. 28.), the Tyrians, the Phœnicians, the Philistines, and Canaanites, were one and the same people, and had one and the same religion. The Moabites, Phœnicians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, and even the Hebrews, were worshippers of Baal. See *Brown's Dictionary of the Bible*, (p. 166.) The worship of Baal (the same as the Celtic Beal) was the favourite sin of the jews; and hence, in the sacred records, which I consider as the best of all evidence, many interesting particulars are preserved respecting this worship. Moses, at the foot of Mount Sinai, built an altar, and surrounded it with twelve stone pillars. See *Exodus*, ch. 24. v. 4. As Moses had hitherto received no express command respecting a temple, it may be presumed he took the model of this one from his Ethnic neighbours. It is worthy of remark, that by far the greater number of the Druidical temples are surrounded by twelve pillars. The children of Israel served Baalim.—*Judg.* 2. 11. They served Baal and Ashtaroth—i. e. the sun and the moon.—*Judg.* 2. 13. They served Baalim and the groves.—*Judg.* 3. 7. The altar and grove of Baal are mentioned *Judges* 6. 25. The Israelites serve Baalim and Ashtaroth, and a long list of other gods.—*Judg.* 10. 6. The Israelites put away Baalim and Ashtaroth.—*1st Sam.* 7. 4. Ahab reared up an altar for Baal in the House of Baal, which he had built at Samaria. This is, at least, one instance of a temple. Jehu decoyed the priests and worshippers of Baal into the house of Baal, and slew them. He broke down the images of Baal, and the house of Baal, and went to the city of the house of Baal. In this instance we find Baal had not only a house, (temple) but even a city dedicated to him. Many such instances might be condescended on.

Moses, who certainly knew something of the matter, commands the jews to destroy their altars, to break down their

images (literally pillars), to cut down their groves, and to burn their graven images with fire.—*Deutron*. 7. 5. He repeats the same command in these words—"ye shall utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods upon the high mountains, upon the hills, and under every green tree. And you shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and you shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place."—*Deut*. 12. 2 and 3. The temples of Baal, here mentioned, were erected by the Phœnicians in the land of Canaan, prior to the entry of the children of Israel; and had Moses been interdicting the temples of the Druids in Great Britain or Ireland, he could not have given a more exact description of them. The groves, the pillars or erect stones, the altars, the images, and even their situation on eminences, are all enumerated.

That groves were the most antient places of worship, is sufficiently evident from the sacred records. Abraham, after his departure from *Ur* of the Chaldees, built an altar in a grove. The *Sun*, under many different names, was the earliest, as well as the most general object of idolatrous worship. He was originally worshipped in groves, and for this reason the jews were prohibited (*Deut*. 12—3, 16, 21) from planting groves near their altars, and commanded to cut down the groves of the Canaanites. To whatever nation we turn our eyes, we find groves the first places of worship; but the simplicity of the early ages soon yielded to a more splendid order of things, and the magnificence of the temples kept pace with the progress of the arts. In cities, groves were not to be obtained, and were often dispensed with. The Druids, of all the worshippers of Baal, retained their groves to the last. This has made Pinkerton conclude that they worshipped in groves, and had no temples at all. The passage in Tacitus, on which he founds this erroneous hypothesis, is as follows:—*Igitur Monam Insulam incolis validam, et receptaculum perfugarum aggredi parat navesque fabricatur plano alteo, adversus breve littus et incertum. Sic pedites equites vado*

secuti, aut altiores inter undas adnantes equis transmisere. Stabat pro littore diversa acies densa armis, virisque intercurrentibus fœminis, in modum furiarum, veste ferali, crinibus dejectis faces præferebant. Druidæque circum, proceres diras sublati ad cælum manibus fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere militem ut, quasi hærentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus præberent. Dein cohortationibus ducis, et se ipsi stimulantes, ne muliebres et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa, sternunt que obvios, et igni suo involvunt. Præsidium posthac impositum victis, excisique luci sævis superstitionibus sacri. Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere Deos fas habebant.— Annal. lib. 14. cap. 5. i. e. “Therefore he prepares to attack the island Mona (Anglesey), powerful in inhabitants, and a receptacle of deserters. He builds flat-bottomed ships, suited to the shallow and uncertain channel. The infantry following the cavalry, passed over that part which was fordable, but where the water was too deep, laid hold of the horses, and by their aid swam over. A motley army stood on the shore, thick with arms, and women running up and down among the men, with mournful garments, and loose hair, in the manner of furies, carried torches before them. The Druids also, with their hands lifted up towards heaven, and pouring out their direful prayers, so terrified the soldiers with the novelty of the sight, that, as if they had been deprived of the use of their limbs, they suffered themselves to be wounded without resistance. But being exhorted by their general, and mutually encouraging each other not to be terrified by a womanish and fanatic rabble, they advance the standards, defeat their opponents, and involve them in their own fires. A guard was placed on the conquered, and the groves, sacred to cruel superstitions, were cut down; for they held it lawful to sacrifice captives on their altars, and to consult the gods by human entrails.”

Tacitus does not here mention the temples of the Druids, but he particularly mentions the groves, altars, and human sacrifices. The truth is, some authors mention one appendage, and others another, of the Druidic worship. Cæsar, lib. 6. cap. 17. takes

no notice of the groves or altars, but particularly mentions the temples. *Multis in civitatibus harum rerum extructos tumulos locis consecratis conspiciari licet*—i. e. “In many cities, you may see heaps of these (warlike spoils) piled up in consecrated places.” It was not likely that the temples in cities would have the appendage of a grove annexed to them. Tacitus, however, in the above cited passage, puts the existence of the altars of the Druids beyond a doubt, and has thus subverted one material part of the Pinkartonian system. He gravely tells us (vol. 1. p. 414.) that these cross stones (altars) were conveniences to the chiefs to get up and speak to the people. Tacitus assigns them a very different use; and his opinion is not only founded on fact, but coincides with that of every impartial enquirer who has written on these monuments of antiquity. If, however, Mr. Pinkarton will take the trouble to look into *Chambers’ Cyclopaedia*, or any topographical description of Anglesey, he will find that their altars, temples, and rocking stones still remain. Tacitus gives us an account of what was demolished; and Mr. Pinkarton hence infers that nothing more existed. But here, on the evidence of Tacitus, Mr. Pinkarton is evidently wrong, for the altars, though mentioned, are not said to have been demolished; and if the altars were spared, why might not the temples also?

A similar instance occurs in the parish of *Holywood*, which derives its name from a Druidical grove. *Holywood*, or as it is pronounced by the vulgar *Haly Wid*, is merely the Gaelic *Alla Feadh*, Saxonically pronounced, and signifies the holy grove. *John de Holywood*, by the Monks commonly called *Joannes de Sacro Bosco*, also derived his name from this grove. In the memory of some persons still alive, the vestiges of the grove could be clearly traced. The roots of the trees are said still to remain, and the circle of stones forming the temple in the interior of the grove is still intire. Now though this grove has been transmitted to posterity in the name of the parish, as well as in that of *Joannes de Sacro Bosco*, there is no tradition whatever concerning the temple which it contains. The grove here, like that at Anglesey, has fallen before the axe, or yielded to time. But such

is the fate of things, that both these groves have been outlived by their respective temples, concerning which history and tradition are equally silent. In the present case, no quibbling will avail Mr. Pinkerton. This sacred or holy grove must have contained a *religious*, not a *judicial* circle; and I defy Pinkerton, or any man else, to point out a *Gothic judicial circle*, surrounded by a *sacred grove*. See *Statistical Account of Holywood*.

Many of these circles still bear the name of temples, temple-stones, and temple-lands. There is a temple-land in the parish of Closeburn, another in the parish of Lochmaben, at the junction of the *Kinnel* and *Ae*. The *Temple of Kineff* is the name of a farm on the estate of Fernyflat, near Bervie. The *Templestones* is the name of a small Druidical temple on the farm of *Auchlee*, near *Elsick*. A hundred such instances might be condensed on, but these may suffice as a specimen, being only translations from the Gaelic. The most general name for a temple in the Gaelic, is *Ceal* or *Cil*, pronounced *Keel* or *Kil*. These kills abound every where, and by far the greater part have been superseded by christian churches. In this list I shall only mention *Kilbarchan*, *Kilberry*, *Kilbirny*, *Kilbrandon*, *Kilbride*, *Kilcalmonell*, *Kilchoman*, *Kilchrenan*, *Kilconquhar*, *Kildonan*, *Kildrumny*, *Kilfinan*, *Kilfinichen*, *Kilallan*, *Killarrow*, *Kilbrandon*, *Killeen*, *Killearn*, *Killearnan*, *Killin*, *Kilmadan*, *Kilmadock*, *Kilnalcom*, *Kilmanivaig*, *Kilmarnock*, *Kilmartin*, *Kilmaurs*, *Kilmeny*, *Kilmorack*, *Kilmore*, *Kilmorich*, *Kilmory*, *Kilmuir*, *Kilninian*, *Kilninver*, *Kilpatrick*, *Kilrenny*, *Kilspindie*, *Kilsyth*, *Kiltarlity*, *Kiltearn*, *Kilvicewen*, *Kilwinning*. These are all parishes, which have derived their names from Druidical temples, in the same manner as *Holywood* took its name from the sacred grove, and though in most of them the zeal of Christians has left no vestige of Druidism, still as much remains as will illustrate the truth of this position. In the parish of *Kilbarchan*, two miles west of the village, is an oval stone, 22 feet long, 19 broad, and 12 high, containing above 3000 solid feet. It still bears the name *Cloch o Drich*, (*Cloch an Druidh*) i. e. "the stone of the Druids." This was undoubtedly a rocking stone

made use of by the Druids in their judicial capacity, and *Kilbarchan*, with the transposition of the letter *r*, rendered *Kilbrathan* or *Kilbrachan*, would signify the circle of judgment. The parish of *Kilmorach* still contains many Druidical circles. *Kiltarlity* also contains a few Druidical circles. In the parish of *Kiltearn* is an oval or elliptical temple bearing a striking resemblance to Stonehenge, though on a smaller scale. To this list I may add the parish of *Kells* in Galloway where a rocking stone about 10 ton weight still remains.

In Ireland these Kills are also numerous, as *Kilkenny*, *Killearney*, *Kildare*, &c. This last literally signifies, *the temple of rove*. In Wales these temples are generally known by the name of *Kerig-y-Drydion*—i. e. “the stones of the Druids,” or *Maen Amber*—i. e. the *Holy Stones*. These temples are numerous over all the Celtic districts; and such is their peculiarity, that he who has seen one, may form a correct idea of the whole.

The reader may think I have been unnecessarily minute in proving these circles of stones to be Druidical temples, but it was necessary, as Mr. Pinkerton has denied that there was ever a Druid in North Britain or Ireland. But if we find the very same monuments in both these kingdoms, which we find in Gaul and Wales, countries confessedly Druidical, it is impossible to ascribe them to any other than the Druids. Indeed Pinkerton himself (vol. 1. p. 415.) is reluctantly obliged to admit, *that some of these circles might be temples of small deities*; and as this is all I am contending for, it is unnecessary to enlarge farther on this head. In a philological point of view, it may, however, be necessary to point out the great affinity betwixt the Gaelic *Ceal* or *Cil*, and the Hebrew *Chil*. *Reland* defines *Chil* to be *Proteichisma*, or *Spatium antimurale*, occupying the space betwixt the mount of the temple and the court of the women. He also states that neither the Gentiles, nor those polluted by the dead, entered this *Chil*. *Lightfoot* gives nearly the same definition, adding that *Chil* was ten cubits broad, divided from the court of the Gentiles by a fence ten hand-breadths in height. *Chil* was that space within the court of the Gentiles, which imme-

diately surrounded the mount of the temple, and in no material circumstance differed from the Gaelic *Cil*, which denoted the circle enclosing the temples of the Druids.

THE DRUIDICAL CIRCLES CONSIDERED AS COURTS OF JUSTICE.

As the Druids were the ministers of religion, and at the same time the supreme judges in civil causes, it is extremely probable that they had their judicial, as well as their religious circles. On any other hypothesis it would be difficult to account for two Druidical circles generally being found near each other. For the purpose of religion one was sufficient. Nor is it once to be imagined that men of such pretended sanctity should throw open their temples to be profaned by the admission of all ranks for the administration of justice.

Independent of these considerations, we find a characteristic difference in the Druidical circles. Many of them are still traditionally reported to have been, and still bear the name of temples. These are still regarded by the vulgar with a degree of superstitious veneration. Ask the meanest day-labourer what the large circle of stones at Bowertree Bush, near Aberdeen, had been—he will immediately answer, that it was a place of worship. Mr. Robertson, of Struan, last year wished to demolish a Druidical circle on his estate, named *Cluan Beg* (the little enclosure or temple), but his servants, rather than commit what they deemed sacrilege, chose to be dismissed his service. These are the circles of religion, and contain the large centre stone, the altar, the purifying trough, &c.

But the other description of circles are regarded with little or no veneration. Concerning the smaller circle at Bowertree Bush, tradition does not even hazard a conjecture. The same remark will apply to the judicial circles in general. They have no centre stone, no altar, no purifying trough, &c. and are never denominated temples. They generally have no name at all, and are frequently divided into two or three different seppts or enclosures, to accommodate the different ranks of the Celts. These are the judicial circles of the Druids, and are in many instances found intire, whilst the temples are almost, without a single ex-

ception, mutilated and injured. I have examined above fifty Druidical temples, but never found one of them in all respects intire. This is easy to be accounted for. The temples being dedicated to the purposes of religion, fell a sacrifice to the persecuting fury of the Romans, and the blind zeal of christians. In the south of Scotland, where the religious circles are denominated *Kills* or *Temples*, the judicial circles are denominated *Girths*. These Girths are numerous, such as *Auld Girth*, *Apple Girth*, *Tunder Girth*, *Girthon*, *Girthhead*, &c. &c. In the Hebrides these Girths are still more numerous, and the tradition respecting them is, *that people resorted to them for justice*, and that they served nearly the same purpose among the Celts, that the cities of refuge did among the Jews. In all stages of society, but more so in a savage state, man is prone to avenge his own wrongs; and we cannot sufficiently admire the address of the Druids, who appointed these Girths, or judicial circles, in the vicinity of their temples, where their transcendant power was sufficient to protect the injured, and check, or overawe the most daring and powerful.

Dr. Smith, in his *History of the Druids*, says the Highlanders call the rocking stones *Clacha Breath*—i. e. the stones of judgment. But this must be a mistake; for as no two rocking stones are ever found together, the Highlanders would not apply the plural *Clacha* (stones) to a single stone; but as the rocking stones formed an appendage to the *Clacha Breath*, or judicial circles, it is not improbable that the Highlanders may have included both under this general denomination.

In the parish of *Coull* there is a judicial circle, which the writer of the statistical account terms *Tamnavrie*, and translates the *hill of worship*. This is another striking instance of the folly and absurdity of reckoning all the Druidical circles places of worship. The writer thought he could not err in rendering this circle the *hill of worship*, because all Druidical circles were, according to the common opinion, places of worship. But the fact is, the real name is *Tom-na-vray*, being the common pronunciation of the Gaelic *Tom-na-Bhraith*, which signifies the hill

of judgment. In the word *Bhraith*, *Bh* is pronounced *V*, and *th* final is quiescent. This is another incontrovertible instance that the Druids had judicial circles, as well as religious ones.

In the parish of Closeburn, on a farm named the *Cairn*, within my recollection, there existed the Cairn on the top of the hill to the west of the farm steading. A few of the temple stones remained immediately behind the dwelling-house. The Auld Girth is situated at the eastern extremity of the farm, and gives name to a small bridge there, as well as to a farm in the vicinity. The new *Girth*, or judicial circle, stood on the north side of the hill, on which the Cairn is situated, and near a small stream named *Clacharie*, or *Clachawrie Burn*. It is easy here to trace the affinity of this word to the before-mentioned *Tom-na-vrie*. It is *Clacha-vrie*, with the Saxon *w* substituted for the Gaelic *bh*, equivalent to *v*, conformable to the dialect of that district. The word is *Clacha Bhraith* (the same with Dr. Smith's *Clacha Breath*) pronounced *Clacha vray* or *wray*, and signifies the stones of judgment. Whoever wishes to see a Druidical judicial circle, will have his curiosity gratified at Bower-tree Bush, about midway from Stonehaven to Aberdeen. The temple first catches the eye, of which only four erect stones remain; but the judicial circle, situated about two hundred yards west of it, and divided into three septs, is as complete as that day it was erected.

I hope enough has been advanced to convince every unprejudiced man that the distinction betwixt the religious and judicial circles of the Druids is well founded. There are another kind of edifices which appear to combine in one both the temple and the judicial circle, of which kind is *Stonchenge*, but I shall reserve my remarks till I have occasion to treat of this remarkable structure.

But Pinkerton has a reason, and a most imperious one too, for denying the existence of Druidical temples. Cæsar (lib. 6. cap. 21.) gives us an epitome of the German or Gothic religion. *Nam neque Druides habent qui divinis rebus præsint, neque sacrificiis student*—i. e. “for they neither have priests (Druids) who preside over divine things, nor do they offer sacrifices at

all. To such a people temples were totally useless. Tacitus, in his admirable treatise, *De Moribus Germanorum*, has given a few instances of sacred groves and human sacrifices, but these were chiefly found among the *Suevi*, who were descended of the *Senones*. The same author informs that the *Marsigni* and *Buri* resembled the *Suevi* in their language and dress, and that the *Gothini* and *Osi* were not Germans, because the one spoke the Gallic, and the other the Pannonian language.—*De Morib. Germ. cap. 13. Ad finem*.—Cæsar and Tacitus strictly agree, with this difference, that Cæsar treats of the customs of the Germans, in contradistinction to those of the Gauls, whilst Tacitus takes Germany *in toto*, and gives us an account, not only of the customs of the Germans, properly so called, but of the Celtic tribes settled among them. I am, however, far from contending that the Germans in all instances kept themselves untainted with the religion of the Druids, which was admirably calculated to impose on the human mind. Druidism, or the worship of Baal, was the favourite sin of the Jews, though they lived under a special theocracy, and had the light of divine revelation to direct them. Several of them, like the *Ubii* (on the testimony of Cæsar), might be *Gallicis adsueti moribus*—i. e. “had conformed to the customs of the Gauls.”

But the most prominent feature in the character of the Germans (who had neither temples nor sacrifices) is their public meetings, in which every one had a vote. As the Germans were contiguous to, and intermixed with the Celts, they could not fail to remark the use of their judicial circles, and imitate them in this particular. Pinkerton has clearly established that in Scandinavia and Iceland, are found judicial circles, under the name of *Dom-thing*, nearly synonymous with the Gaelic *Clacha Bhraith*—i. e. “courts of justice.” But this argument, instead of supporting Mr. Pinkerton’s theory, completely subverts it. That the Celts were the præcursors of the Goths, he has clearly admitted; and that the Celts had temples, whilst the Goths had none, is equally clear from the testimony of Cæsar. The sum of the matter is, that the Goths or Germans, who had no sacrifices,

and, consequently, no use for temples, imitated their præcursors, the Celts, in the use of the judicial circle, omitting the temples altogether, or, which is more probable, devoting such temples as the Celts left behind them to judicial purposes. The Celts used these stone circles as temples and courts of justice; the Goths used them only as courts of justice.

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NOTE L.—PAGE 91.

Stonehenge, &c.—There has been much diversity of opinion respecting this remarkable edifice. Some make it Roman, and others Danish. *Toland, Stukely, Grose, &c.* make it Druidical. That it is such, is clearly evinced by the altar sixteen feet long and four broad, and the rocking stone which still exists. It is the most remarkable Druidical structure in the world, and said to contain no less than 146 erect stones. For a full description of Stonehenge, see *Chambers' Cyclopædia, Stukely, Grose, &c.*

The name is evidently modern, and imposed by the Saxons to express the appearance of the building, which is so constructed, that the stones appear to hang or depend from one another. *Stonehenge* is Saxon, and imports the hinged or hanging stone. Most Druidical circles in South Britain bear the name of *Maen Amber*—i. e. “the holy stones,” and from the vicinity of *Stonehenge* to *Ambersbury*, which signifies the holy city, it is likely the original name was *Maen Amber*. The Welsh call it *Choir Gour*—i. e. “the great assembly.” At *Stonehenge* alone, the altar and rocking stone are found together, and from this, with the number of septs, some of them circular, others elliptical, it is most probable this magnificent structure combined in one the religious and judicial circle. Pinkarton, with his usual gothicism, reckons it the supreme court of the *British Belgæ*. The rocking stone, however, precludes his Gothic claim to this structure; for he admits (v. 1. p. 409 & 410.) that no rocking stones have been remarked in Scandinavia or Germany. Wormius, the great northern antiquary, did not find a single altar in any of the circles of Germany. Let Pinkarton condescend on

any Gothic judicial circle in Germany, with the appendages of the altar and rocking stone, and the contest is at an end.

The loss of the original name has greatly obscured the history of Stonehenge. Gelcossa's temple in Ireland, (see Toland, p. 71.) and a Druidical circle near the house of *Clyne*, in the parish of Kiltarn, in Scotland, are diminutive imitations of Stonehenge. Will Pinkarton also insist that these were the supreme courts of the British Belgæ?

Cæsar informs us (lib. 6. cap. 13.) that the chief school of the Druids was in Britain, and that those who wished to study their doctrines more perfectly, used to repair thither for that purpose. Now as Stonehenge is a structure of unequalled extent and magnificence, is it not most natural to infer that it was the chief settlement and school of the Druids in Britain; and every one will admit that it was well situated for an easy intercourse with the Continent, whence (Cæsar says) students resorted. If this hypothesis is well founded, then the Welsh name *Choir Gour*—i. e. "the great assembly, or school," is extremely appropriate. The Celts have always been remarkable for denominating places or things from the use to which they were applied. Cæsar (lib. 6. cap. 13.) says "the Druids assemble in a temple (consecrated place) at a certain season of the year, in the territories of the *Carnutes*, which is reckoned the centre of all Gaul." Here is another Druidical temple for Mr. Pinkarton. In the Gaelic language *Caer* signifies a city, and *Noid* or *Noit*, (pronounced *Nut*) a congregation or assembly. *Caer-noit*, or *Caer-nut*, then signifies the town of the assembly, to which the Romans added their termination *es*, and formed *Carnutes*.

NOTE LI.—PAGE 143.

Human sacrifices offered by the Druids, &c.—Dr. Smith, in his *History of the Druids*, has strained every nerve to prove that they offered only criminals. But this will not do. Cæsar (lib. 6. cap. 16.) is so particular on this head, as to leave not even a shadow of doubt on the subject. "They reckon," says he, "those who have been taken in theft, robbery, or any other

crime, more acceptable sacrifices to the gods, but when there is a deficiency of this description, they have recourse even to the sacrifice of the innocent." Tacitus says, "they held it lawful to sacrifice captives on their altars, and to consult the gods by human fibres."—*Annal, lib. 14. cap. 5.* Pliny is still more severe—"Non satis æstimari potest, quantum Romanis debeatur, qui sustulere monstra, in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandi vero etiam saluberrimum."—*Nat. Hist. lib. 30. cap. 1. i. e.* "It cannot be sufficiently estimated how much mankind are indebted to the Romans for destroying monsters (the Druids) who reckoned the sacrifice of a man the greatest act of religion, and his flesh the most salubrious food."

There is hardly a nation on earth who has not, at one time or other, offered human sacrifices. The propitiation was indeed inadequate, but the idea was founded on the basis of moral rectitude. Man was the sinner, and he was the proper victim. When, in order to appease the wrath of the deity, he offered what was most dear to him, (generally his first-born) he could not go further. Isaac was offered by substitute, as were also all the first-born of the Jews, after the passover. Jephthah's daughter was really sacrificed; and the whole gospel dispensation rests on the merits of the great human sacrifice of the Messiah. Human sacrifices among the Jews by substitute, were, no doubt, ordained, and among the Gentiles, in reality, permitted, by an all-wise God, that they might typify the sacrifice of Christ, the only true, and the only sufficient propitiation for the sins of the world.

NOTE LII.—PAGE 143.

Cromlech.—Mr. Toland has treated the *Cromlech* at some length, but not with his usual perspicuity. The grand distinguishing feature of the *Cromlech* is, that it is never surrounded by a circle of stones, but has only one obelisk standing near it. Another criterion is, that it is elevated from five to ten feet above the level of the ground, whereas the altars in the temples are seldom, if ever, elevated above one foot. Another distinct mark

of the *Cromlech* is its immense size. Many of them contain a surface of 400 feet, whereas the altar at Stonehenge, the most magnificent Druidical temple now known, contains only 64 feet, being sixteen feet in length, by four in breadth. The altar of *Crum-Cruach*, said by Mr. Toland to stand in the midst of twelve obelisks, does not seem to merit the name of a *Cromlech*, unless by this term he understands an altar of any size. Dr. Smith, whose *History of the Druids* is only a superficial transcript of Toland's, evidently did not know what a *Cromlech* was. He mistakes the Colossus, or erect obelisk, mentioned by Toland, (p. 144.) at Nevern, in Pembrokeshire, for the *Cromlech* itself.—See his *Hist. Druids*, p. 27. The erect stone was not the *Cromlech*, but the image, or pedestal of the image of the deity, to whom the sacrifices on the *Cromlech* were offered. Dr. Falle, as quoted by Toland, (p. 146.) gives a very distinct account of these *Cromlechs*, or (as he calls them) *Pôuqueleys*; and the quantity of ashes found near them clearly shews that they were used as altars for sacrifice. Mr. Pinkerton (v. 1. p. 412.) says the Celts never raised hillocks over their dead, and that the plain *Cromlech*, or heap of stones, was more consonant to their *savage indolence*. Hence we may infer that he considered the *Cromlechs* as sepulchral monuments. But will any rational man believe that it was more difficult to erect a hillock of earth, than a *Cromlech*, many of which weigh above a hundred tons, and were besides to be quarried, and often transported from a considerable distance?

Mr. Toland has mentioned several of these *Cromlechs*, and I shall here mention a few more. Keyzler, in his *Northern Antiquities*, mentions a stone of this kind in *Alsace*, 36 feet in circumference, $12\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and 4 thick. There is another at *Lanyon*, in Wales, 19 feet long, 47 in circumference, and 2 in thickness, resting on four pillars, at such a distance from the ground, that a man on horseback may easily ride under it. Its form is that of an ellipse, standing north and south. At *Plas Newydd*, in Wales, is another in the form of an irregular square, 40 feet in circumference, and 4 in thickness, raised so high on supporters,

that cows usually take shelter under it. In Great Britain and Ireland it were easy to add to the above a numerous list, but I shall content myself with the following quotation from *Olaus Wormius*,—" *Ararum structura apud nos varia est. Maxima ex parte congesto ex terra constant tumulo, in cujus summitate tria ingentia saxa, quartum illudque majus, latius ac planius, sustinent, fulciunt, ac sustentant, ut instar mensæ tribus fulcris enixæ emineat.*"—i. e. "The structure of altars with us is various. For the most part they consist of a raised hillock of earth, on the summit of which three huge stones sustain, prop, and support a fourth one, larger, broader and plainer, so that it overtops them, like a table leaning on three feet." Though this great antiquary never found, in Scandinavia or Germany, a single altar within any of the stone circles, yet the Cromlech has, in the above passage, been accurately described. Nor is it at all wonderful that Celtic monuments so gigantic and durable, should last so long, though it is nearly 2500 years since the Celts were expelled from Scandinavia and the north of Germany. So far with regard to the existence of Cromlechs.

Before we attempt to determine their use, it is necessary to recapitulate their discriminating characteristics. The Cromlech was by far larger than the altars in the temples, or on the sacred cars, and hence we may infer that it was calculated for the oblation of a plurality of victims. All other altars were encircled by a sacred car, or temple, but this was surrounded by no sacred pale; whence we may conclude that all might approach it. All other altars were nearly level with the ground, but this was elevated like a theatre, that all might behold. The 16th chapter of the 6th book of *Cæsar* throws considerable light on this point, and I shall here translate it—"All the nation of the Gauls is greatly addicted to superstitions, and for that reason, they who are afflicted by more severe diseases, and who are exposed to battles or dangers, either offer men for victims, or vow that they will offer them, and they make use of the Druids as ministers to offer these sacrifices, because they think the wrath of the immortal gods cannot be appeased, unless the life of a man

is paid for the life of a man; and they have sacrifices of this kind publicly instituted. Others have images of immense size, whose members are woven of wicker work, which they fill with living men, which being set on fire, the men enveloped in the flames are burnt to death. The sacrifice of those who have been taken in theft, robbery, or any other crime, they reckon more acceptable to the immortal gods; but, when there is a deficiency of this description, they have recourse to the sacrifice, even of the innocent." Cæsar here mentions two ways of disposing of a plurality of victims. The first was at sacrifices publicly instituted for the purpose, where they were sacrificed in the usual manner; and the second was enclosing them in huge images of basket work, where they were burnt to death. The same author tells us (lib. 6. cap. 17.) "that when they have resolved on war, they generally vow, that they will offer to Mars, whatever they shall have taken in battle." Tacitus (Annal. lib. 13. cap. 5.) says they sacrificed captives on their altars.

From these authorities it is evident that the human victims offered on particular occasions were numerous. The ordinary altars in the temples could not contain above two or three victims. And from all the characteristics of the Cromlech, I think we may infer that it was erected as an altar for these hecatombs of human victims which were publicly offered. Two, and sometimes three, of these Cromlechs are often found together, as it seems to have been a fixed rule with the Druids to make an altar of one intire stone only. Though Toland has confounded the Cromlechs with the other Druidical altars, and Dr. Smith has totally mistaken them, I am decisively of opinion that they form quite a distinct class. Ancient customs, though often modified, or new modelled, are seldom totally eradicated, and I am verily persuaded that the Cromlech on which criminals were burnt, (for it was only when there was a deficiency of these that they sacrificed the innocent) furnished the model of our present scaffolds or platforms on which criminals are executed.

As to the name, viz. *the bowing stone*, it is extremely appropriate, and there can remain little doubt that the surrounding

multitude kneeled down during this great public sacrifice, (on the testimony of Cæsar) the most acceptable of all others to the gods. Some people have imagined that these Cromlechs were used by the Druids for astronomical purposes, and indeed, from their size and tabularity, they were well calculated for the most extensive mathematical delineations. Many of these Cromlechs were capable of containing from one to two hundred victims; and where three of them are found together, it is a moderate calculation to say that from three to four hundred might have been sacrificed at once. From the words of Cæsar, "*sacrificia publice instituta*—i. e. "sacrifices publicly instituted," or (in other words) "to which all had access," we may infer that they had others of a more private nature to which the multitude were not admitted; and from the small size of many of the Druidical temples, it is probable the multitude were never admitted within the circle of erect stones, but stood in the outer court, betwixt the circle and surrounding grove. Fanciful people may imagine what they please about these Cromlechs, but the very name is sufficient to establish that they were appropriated to the worship of the gods.

NOTE LIII.—PAGE 145.

But no such altars were ever found by Olaus Wormius, the great northern antiquary, &c.—Mr. Pinkarton, who abuses Mr. Toland most unmercifully (v. 2. p. 17.) on his supposed disbelief of the scriptures, dare not here enter the lists with him. It was certainly easy for Mr. Pinkarton to have said whether *Olaus Wormius* found altars in the Gothic circles or not. He knew he must have answered in the negative, which would have blown up his whole Gothic hypothesis. In order to slim the matter over, and sneak out of the dilemma, he admits (v. 1. p. 409.) that no *rock idols, pierced stones, rocking stones, or rock basons*, have been remarked in Scandinavia or Germany, but passes over the altars in profound silence. The altar is the true criterion betwixt the religious and judicial circle.

NOTE LIV.—PAGE 149.

That Mercury was their chief god, &c.—All travellers have generally fallen into the same mistake, of tracing vestiges of their own religion in foreign countries. Tacitus found *Isis* in Germany. Nay the Apostle Paul himself was mistaken for *Mercury* at Lycaonia. Our own christian missionaries have found traces of christianity in almost every quarter of the globe. Among the Greeks and Romans, Mercury was considered as the god of high ways; and it was customary to erect heaps, or carns to him, near the public roads. The Druids erected carns to *Beal*; and from the resemblance of these to the *Mercurial heaps*, the Romans concluded that Mercury was the chief Celtic deity. But though Cæsar mistook *Beal* for *Mercury*, he has handed down to us a point of much importance, when he tells us "*Hujus sunt plurima simulacra*—i. e. "There are very many images of this deity." Hence it is clearly established that the Druids had very many images of their gods.

NOTE LV.—PAGE 150.

Many of them have a cavity on the top capable to hold a pint, &c.—This cavity on the top of one of the stones in the Druidical temples has been often noticed. It was intended to catch the dew or rain pure from heaven. The Druids had their *holy water* and *holy fire*, as well as the Jews, and other nations. Among the Greeks, every one who was admitted into the temple was sprinkled with holy water. He who was not admitted was called *Bebēlos*—i. e. "debarred from the porch, or entrance." The coincidence betwixt the Gaelic and Greek languages is here remarkable. In the Scots dialect of the Gaelic, *Bal* signifies a house. In the Irish dialect, *Bail* has the same signification. The Greek *Bēl*, divested of its peculiar termination *os*, signifies the porch or entrance of a house, and hence the house itself. There is not the slightest difference, either in sound or signification, betwixt the Irish *Bail* and the Greek *Bēl*.

Appion accuses Moses of departing from the primitive custom of worshipping at *Obelisks*, and of erecting stone pillars, with basons in such a manner, that as the sun moved, his shadow falling on these basons, moved along with him.—*Joseph. contra Appion*, page 724.

Appion could not possibly describe a non-entity, and must have seen something resembling what he here describes; nor is it unlikely that the Druids, as well as other Ethnical religious sects, had vessels to catch the reflection of the heavenly bodies. The vulgar among ourselves, even at the present day, fill a vessel with water during an eclipse of the moon, and think they see it more distinctly by the reflection in the water. It is to be regretted, that Dr. Smith did not advert to this primitive and simple method of bringing down the moon. It would have saved him the trouble of ascribing telescopes to the Druids, at least 1500 years before they were invented.

Whether the cavity before-mentioned was occasionally used by the Druids to catch the reflection of the heavenly bodies, I shall not pretend to determine. But from the perforation reaching from the cavity to the bottom of the pillar, whereby the water could be drawn off at pleasure, it is evident its principal end was to supply them with holy water, pure from heaven.

NOTE LVI.—PAGE 150.

Fatal Stone, &c.—This was the marble chair so famous in the Scottish annals. Mr. Toland, with great propriety, calls it the most ancient and respected monument in the world. Its antiquity and existence are so well established, that it is unnecessary for me to enlarge on either of these heads. Poor Mr. Pinkerton, sensible that he could not claim it to his beloved Goths, has, throughout the whole of his *History of Scotland*, hardly once dared to hint at it. When any thing suits his Gothic hypothesis, he grasps it *totis viribus*, but when any thing makes against it, he passes over it in profound silence. *Admirable and candid historian!!!*

NOTE LVII.—PAGE 152.

Clunmany—Signifies the inclosure or temple of stones. These names are also frequent in Scotland. *Cluan-Beg* and *Cluan-Mor*, i. e. “the little and large circle or temple,” stand on the estate of Mr. Robertson, of Strowan, near Dunkeld. In Fife, we have *Dalmeny* (Dalmaine) the dale of stones, and Kilmeny, (Cill-maine) the temple of stones. We have a parish in Perthshire of the name of *Cluny*, and another in Aberdeenshire. This last contains three Druidical circles. *Clyne* is merely a corruption of *Cluan*, or *Cluain*. *Menmuir* (*Main Mur*)—i. e. “the stone wall or fort,” is the name of a parish in the neighbourhood of Brechin. *Menmuir* is only a different name for *Catter-thun*. With regard to *Catter-thun*, and the neighbouring estate of *Stracathro*, their have been many absurd etymologies. *Catter-thun*, (*Caither Dun*) literally means the city hill, or fort; and *Stracathro*, (*Strath-cathrach*) means the city strath, and is so denominated from its vicinity to the said city.

NOTE LVIII.—PAGE 152.

Rocking Stones.—These rocking stones are numerous over all the Celtic districts. Mr. Mason, in his *Caractacus*, has given us the vulgar tradition respecting them in the following lines:

Behold yon huge
 And unhewn sphere of living adamant,
 Which, pois'd by magic, rests its central weight
 On yonder pointed rock; firm as it seems,
 Such is its strange and virtuous property,
 It moves obsequious to the gentlest touch
 Of him, whose heart is pure. But to a traitor,
 Tho' ev'n a giant's prowess nerv'd his arm,
 It stands as fix'd as Snowdon.

There is a remarkable rocking-stone in the parish of Kilbarchan, (see Note 47.) and another in the parish of Kells in Gallo-way. There is one in the parish of Kirkmichael in Perthshire, another at Balvaird, and a third at Dron, both in the same

county. Borlase, in his *Antiquities of Cornwall*, mentions a rocking-stone, in the parish of Constantine, weighing about 750 tons, being 97 feet in circumference, and 60 across the middle. It were easy to add to the above a numerous list, but this is unnecessary, as no antiquarian has denied the existence of such stones. The only point of difference has been the use to which they were applied.

Mason, in the above quoted passage, has informed us that they were used as ordeals to try the guilt or innocence of criminals, and this is the prevalent opinion respecting them. They may have, however, served some other subordinate purposes, and from their mobility, as well as their spherical shape, were well calculated for elucidating the motion of the earth, and other heavenly bodies. Cæsar (lib. 6. cap. 14.) says, "they (the Druids) teach their pupils many things concerning the stars and their motions, concerning the size of the world and its different parts," &c. Now, as the Druids were, on all hands, allowed to be well versed in astronomy and geography, it is natural to suppose they would avail themselves of artificial aids in communicating their philosophy to their disciples. Of all the Druidical monuments which have reached the present day, none was so well calculated as the *rocking-stone* to supply the want of our modern terrestrial and celestial globes. The *rocking-stone* was, in fact, the world in miniature, and possessed the motion, as well as the shape, of our modern globes. Indeed, all the Druidical monuments appear to have had some astronomical reference. No sooner do we enter a Druidical temple, and see the huge central obelisk surrounded by a circle of erect stones, than we are immediately struck with the idea of a sundial, or the sun placed in the centre, and the planets revolving around him.

Mr. Pinkerton, (vol. 1. p. 410.) with his usual Gothic consistency, tells us that these stones are a *lusus naturæ*, a sportive production of nature. Now, nature, it is well known, has exercised none of these sports in any of the Gothic countries, and it is rather singular, that these sportive productions are confined

to the Celtic districts. But the fact is, that these stones are rounded with the nicest skill, and poized with the exactest mechanism. They are always found near some Druidical edifice of superior magnificence, and the man whose head is so gothicized as to reckon them the effect of chance, need not hesitate to pronounce St. Giles' Church, or Lord Nelson's Monument, a *lusus naturæ*! That these rocking stones were really artificial, is clearly established by Pliny, who (lib. 34. cap. 7.) gives us the following account of one. "*Talis et Tarenti factus a Lysippo quadraginta cubitorum. Mirum in eo, quod manu, ut ferunt, mobilis (ea ratio libramenti) nullis convellatur procellis. Id quidem providisse et artifex dicitur, modico intervallo, unde maxime flatum opus erat frangi, opposita columna.*"—i. e. "And such a one, forty cubits high, was made at Tarentum, by Lysippus. The wonder of this stone is, that it is said to be moveable by a touch of the hand, (owing to the particular manner in which it is poized), and cannot be moved by the greatest force. Indeed, the workman is said to have guarded against this, by opposing a *fulcrum* (prop) at a small distance, where it was exposed to the blast, and most liable to be broken." Had Pliny been giving a description of the rocking stones in Scotland, he could not have done it more exactly. They were, indeed, so poized, and had so little room to vibrate, that the slightest touch gave them all the motion of which they were capable.

Well knowing that these stones bear the most unequivocal characteristics of art, Mr. Pinkerton, in the next breath, confutes himself, and tells us they are sepulchral monuments. The instance he gives us is from Appollonius Rhodius, who writes that Hercules, having slain the two sons of Boreas, erected over them two stones, one of which moves to the sonorous breath of the north wind. Apollonius wrote the *Argonautica*; and it is well known the Argonauts, in their expedition, visited many of the Celtic districts, and might have carried along with them the model of these stones. Nay, what is more to the purpose, it is most likely they carried one of these stones along with them, for Pliny (lib. 36. cap. 15.) tells us that there is a rocking stone

(*Lapis fugitivus*) in the town of Cyzicum, which the Argonauts left there. This stone was first placed in the *Prytaneum*, (a place in the citadel of Athens where the magistrates and judges held their meetings) and the situation was most appropriate, as it was an appendage of the Druidical judicial circles. But as this stone wished to return home, and used frequently to run away from Prytaneum, it was at last taken to Cyzicum and fixed down with lead. But what is still more ridiculous, the Argonauts are said to have used this *fugitive stone* as an anchor.

All judicious men have looked on the story of Hercules and the two sons of *Boreas* as a mere fable, and perhaps the story of the *fugitive stone* stands on no better ground. But Mr. Pinkarton's drift is evident. He has admitted that no rocking stones have been found in Scandinavia or Germany, and consequently cannot appropriate them to the Goths. He is willing, therefore, to make them any thing, or to give them to any body, rather than to the Celts, their true owners.

But as Mr. Pinkarton considers Boreas and his two sons as real personages, and argues accordingly, I beg leave to make him acquainted with this same *Mr. Boreas*, of whose name and lineage he appears to be totally ignorant. *Mr. Boreas* is an ancient highland gentleman of above three thousand years standing. There is not one drop of Grecian blood in his veins. His name is pure Celtic, viz. *Bor-Eas*—i. e. “the strong cataract or blast.” Hence the Greeks formed their *Boreades* (descendants of Boreas) and *Hyperboraioi*—i. e. “people situated to the north of the north wind.” In modern times he is more generally known by the name of the *North Wind*, but even in this name his claim to the Highlands, or north of Scotland, is evident. Hercules was a hero, a gentleman, and a great traveller. He had visited Italy, Spain, and Gaul, in all which countries he must have been acquainted with the Celtic rites and customs. When he slew the two sons of this ancient highland gentleman, *Mr. North Wind* (Boreas), it was extremely handsome in him to give them a highland funeral, and to erect over them a rocking stone, which was the most expensive and most rare of all the

Celtic or Highland monuments. So far Hercules acted like a hero and a gentleman. But Apollonius and Pinkarton have outraged humanity, and grated every string of paternal feeling, by stationing the poor old gentleman, Mr. *North Wind*, to blow this rocking stone, and keep it always tottering on the grave of his beloved sons. Hear their own words—"He slew them on sea surrounded Tenos, and raised a hillock about them, and placed two stones on the top, of which one (the admiration of men) moves to the sonorous breath of the *North Wind*." They would have acted much more consistently, had they made this venerable highland gentleman exert his *sonorous breath* to blow Hercules out of existence, in revenge for the death of his two sons.

But, to be serious, I have no objection, for argument's sake, to admit that this fabulous instance was a real one; still a solitary detached instance of the perversion of any thing proves nothing. The *Hays* of Errol defeated the Danes with their oxen yokes—Pompey's funeral pile was a boat—and many of our early churches are now devoted to the humble purpose of holding cattle; but will any man in his senses thence infer, that oxen yokes were formed for military weapons, that boats were built for funeral piles, or churches for cattle folds. But these rocking stones were in fact *Ordeals*. The uniform tradition of the Celtic countries points them out as such, and *Strabo* himself is of the same opinion, when he thinks (as remarked by Mr. Toland, p. 153.) that these stones might be an useful cheat to society. The testimony of *Strabo* in this case is positive and decisive, and Mr. Pinkarton's Gothic hypothesis must fall to the ground.

NOTE LIX.—PAGE 154.

Druids' houses, &c.—These Druids' houses are no vain fiction. Pennant, and several others, have taken notice of them. Mr. Toland has, on this head, been pretty full; and it only remains for me to point out the absurdity of the opinion of those who assert that there never was a Druid in Scotland or Ireland. If

so, how have we their houses, their graves, &c. still bearing their names?

NOTE LX.—PAGE 155.

Soil, one of the ancient names of the sun. *Soil*, in the Gaelic, signifies clearness, and *Soilleir* clear. The former is the radix of the Latin *Sol*, and the latter of the Scottish *Siller*, now written *Silver*. It is generally allowed that the *Sanscrit* is the basis of all the languages of the East; and the same may be said of the *Celtic* with regard to the languages of the West. There are many words in the Greek and Roman languages which can admit of no satisfactory analysis, except in the Gaelic language, and *Sol* is one of them. Cicero derives *Sol* (*lib. 2. de Nat. Deor.*) from *Solus*, because there is but one sun and no more. By the same parity of reasoning, the moon, and every individual star, have an equal claim to the name, because there is one of each, and no more. But how beautifully appropriate is the derivation of the Roman *Sol* from the Gaelic *Soil*, which signifies clearness or light, an attribute of the sun in all nations and in all languages.

NOTE LXI.—PAGE 156.

The Gauls, contrary to the custom of the Romans, &c.—The Romans, in augury, or their religious ceremonies, turned their face to the south, their left hand to the east, and their right to the west. The Celts, on the contrary, turned their face to the north, their right hand to the east, and their left to the west. By this difference of position, the left hand of the Romans corresponded to the right of the Celts. It was, however, in both cases, the hand which pointed to the east that was the ominous one.

NOTE LXII.—PAGE 157.

Arthur's Oven.—From the similarity of this edifice to others, which still bear the name of Druids' Houses, we have every reason to conclude, with Mr. Toland, that it is of the same

kind. There is a *fac simile* of it at Pennicuick. It is strange any one should have imagined it to be Roman; and equally so, that it should have received the name of *Arthur's Oven*. It is in no one circumstance, agreeable to Roman architecture, while we can adduce many similar buildings in the Hebrides, to which the Romans never penetrated. Several of these edifices (see Pennant's tour) are also found in Argyllshire. There are also many of them in Ireland. If this building was erected by the Romans to their god *Terminus*, it must follow that all the edifices similar to it in shape and architecture, were similar temples, and hence it must also follow that they erected temples in Ireland, &c. to which they never had access. Under every view of the matter, and from every circumstance of the case, the Celts have an unquestionable title to *Arthur's Oven*. As to the name, it is proper to remark, that many of the Gaelic names have been mistaken for Latin ones, and not a few of them for English.

Buchanan mistook the Gaelic *Dun'na Bais*, i. e. the hills of death, for the Roman *Duni Pacis*, i. e. the hills of peace. *Pen Punt*, i. e. the weighing hill, has been mistaken for the Roman *pene pontus*, i. e. almost sea, though the hill in question is fifteen miles distant from any sea, and more than three thousand feet above its level. *Arthur's Oven* is a memorable instance of the same kind. It is merely a corruption of the Gaelic *Ard-tur-abhain* (pronounced *arturavin*), and signifying the *high tower on the river*. Perhaps *Arthur's Seat* owes its name to a mistake of the same kind. It was indeed very natural for any one, unacquainted with the Gaelic language, to mistake *arturavin* for *Arthur's Oven*.

NOTE LXIII.—PAGE 160.

I shall conclude this letter with two examples, &c.—The first of these is a tessillated causey on the mainland of Orkney, and the other the remarkable *Dwarf* stone in the island of *Hoy*. Mr. Toland, with a modesty highly creditable to him, does not claim them as Druidical, but confesses candidly that they do not pertain, as far as he knows, to the subject he is treating of.

In a similar case Mr. Pinkerton would have acted very differently. Had he not been able to make them Gothic, he would have dubbed them *sepulchral monuments*, or a *lusus naturæ*, or, if this would not do, he would have made his favourite *Torſæus* swallow them at one mouthful without salt. See his History, v. 1. p. 54.

NOTE LXIV.—PAGE 168.

The Gauls (says Lucian) call Hercules, in their country language, OGMIVS.—The reader is here requested to remark this singular statue of Hercules, erected by the Gauls. He is also desired to observe, that the old Gaul (mentioned by Lucian) spoke the Greek language in perfection, and appears to have understood the Greek mythology better than even Lucian himself. On these points I shall not, in this place, enlarge, as I will have occasion to recur to them when treating of the antiquity of the use of letters among the Celts.

NOTE LXV.—PAGE 176.

Great Britain was denominated from the province of Britain, in Gaul; and that from Gaul the original inhabitants of the British islands (I mean those of Cæsar's time) are descended.—It is a point almost universally conceded, that islands have been peopled from the most contiguous continents. Mr. Pinkerton's opposite theory stands on very slender grounds. The evidences produced by Toland to establish that Great Britain was peopled from Gaul, are clear and decisive. Pinkerton's theory rests on the following basis. Cæsar, (lib. 1. cap. 1.) speaking of the *Belgæ, Aquitani, & Celtæ*, says—*Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus, inter se differunt*—i. e. “All these differ, one from another, in language, customs, and laws.” Hence Mr. Pinkerton infers they must have been three distinct races of men, and that the Celts inhabited only the third part of Gaul. This erroneous theory has also led him to assert that *tota Gallia* means only the third part of Gaul. But Cæsar's words might, with the strictest propriety, be applied to any three districts in any na-

tion whatever. Both in speaking and writing we say the Welch, Irish, and Gaelic languages, though it is well known these are only dialects of the same language. It is also well known that all these have their peculiar customs and laws, though it is certain they are all of Celtic origin. But the general sense in which Cæsar uses the phrases *omnis Gallia* and *tota Gallia*, clearly evinces that he had no such meaning as Pinkarton has assigned. Indeed Mr. Pinkarton must be very much straitened for arguments, before he would venture to rest his hypothesis on the absurd and impossible axiom, that the whole of any thing, and one third of it, are equal. Mr. Pinkarton's next disingenuous shift is (vol. 1. p. 24.) misquoting a passage from Cæsar (lib. 2. cap. 4.) The passage is—*plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis*—i. e. "That the greater part of the Belgæ were descended from the Germans." But as this would not suit his Gothic purpose, he renders it *Belgas esse ortos a Germanis*—i. e. "That the Belgæ were descended from the Germans." Cæsar had this information from his allies and friends, the *Remi*, who had a direct and obvious interest to represent the Belgæ as foreigners and intruders, in the hope that Cæsar would drive them across the Rhine, in which event they (the *Remi*) who were nearest to the Belgæ, might hope to obtain their territories, and be settled by Cæsar in their stead. It is evident, from Cæsar's whole history, that the Germans made frequent settlements in Gaul, and the Gauls in Germany. From Tacitus it is evident that there were several Celtic colonies in Germany; and the simple fact of the Belgæ having passed from one side of the Rhine to the other, (*antiquitus transductos Rhenum*) will not prove them Germans. Indeed Mr. Pinkarton seems sensible of this difficulty, and endeavours to establish a distinction between the Celts in Germany and Gaul, as if a man's residence on this or that side of the Rhine would alter his language, his lineage, or identity. A Goth is a Goth, and a Celt a Celt, whether he reside in Germany or Gaul. Mr. Pinkarton's theory will then, and not till then, hold good, when the interested and suspicious account of the *Belgæ*, given to Cæsar by their enemies the *Remi*, is entitled to historic faith—

when *plerosque Belgas* signifies *all the Belgæ*—and when *tota Gallia* signifies the third part of Gaul.

Having, as he imagines, established that the Belgæ were Goths, he proceeds to prove that the inhabitants of Kent were Belgæ. This Cæsar admits in clear and explicit terms, but does not restrict them to Kent alone, but extends them to the sea-coast (*ora maritima*) of Britain in general. But if language conveys any precise and determinate meaning, it is evident Cæsar considered the inhabitants of the sea-coast of Britain to be Gauls, and not Germans. Speaking of these inhabitants he says, “they had very many houses, and commonly built exactly like those of Gaul” (*creberrimæque Ædificia fere Gallicis consimilia.*) The same author, speaking of the same inhabitants, says—*neque multum a Gallica consuetudine differunt*—i. e. “In their manners they differ very little from the Gauls.” If Cæsar’s account of the Belgæ in Gaul is in any respect doubtful, that of the same people (at least as he imagines) in Britain will elucidate and explain it; yet Mr. Pinkerton has here again recourse to his old shifts, and explains *Gallicis Ædificiis*, the *Belgic* houses, and *Gallica consuetudine*, the *Belgic* manners.

Persisting in the same ill-founded theory, (vol. 1. p. 107.) he endeavours to establish that the *Caledonians* were Germans, and quotes the following passage from *Tacitus’ Life of Agricola* (cap. 4.)—*Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant*—i. e. “For the red hair and large limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia, indicate that they are descended of the Germans.” Mr. Pinkerton here quotes no more than suits his purpose, and omits that very part of the sentence which is most essential. It is this—*Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter Barbaros, parum compertum: habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta, namque rutilæ Caledoniam, &c.*—i. e. “But who were the first inhabitants of Britain, and whether they were *indigenæ* or *advectitious*, was quite uncertain, as is the case with all Barbarians; the habits of their bodies are different; and this circumstance may afford room for conjecture (argument); the

red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians indicate a German origin."

From this passage, when fully stated, it is quite certain that Tacitus could procure no certain information respecting the original inhabitants of Britain. It is equally certain that he perceived no characteristic difference, except in the make of their bodies and the colour of their hair. The same author, when treating of the Germans, never fails to point out particular customs, and the difference of language. He specially relates (as a clear proof that the *Gothini* and *Osi* were not Germans) that the one spoke the Gaelic and the other the Pannonian language. Had he stated that the Caledonians spoke the German language, the argument would have been conclusive; but a mere conjecture, founded on the size of their bodies and the colour of their hair, will prove nothing, especially when Tacitus himself informs us that he could procure no certain information respecting the original inhabitants. *Mr. Innes*, who made the *original inhabitants* of Scotland his particular study, and who possessed all *Mr. Pinkerton's* abilities and research, and ten times his honesty, is clearly of opinion that the Picts and Caledonians were Celts.—*See his Critical Essay.* *Mr. Pinkerton's* great art lies in detaching some mutilated portion of a clause or sentence, and wresting it to serve his purpose, whereas, when the natural import of the whole is taken, it subverts the very point which he wished to establish. The detached part of the sentence respecting the Germanic origin of the Caledonians, when taken by itself, seems to have some weight; but when taken in conjunction with the preceding part of the sentence, wherein Tacitus professes complete ignorance of the matter, it amounts to nothing at all. Indeed there cannot be a clearer proof of the uniformity of the language, customs, and manners of the inhabitants of Great Britain, than this very passage, in as much as Tacitus could not find one characteristic trait of difference, except in the massy limbs and red hair of the Caledonians. Poor and baseless as this argument of *Pinkerton's* is, he hugs it with all his might, and says—the signs given by Tacitus are, in a savage state of society,

very striking and obvious. Now it is well ascertained that mankind are more corpulent in a polished, than a rude state of society, and that no state of society will alter the colour of the hair. In the same passage Tacitus mentions the painted countenances and curled hair of the *Silures*, as an argument that they were of Spanish origin. Here again there is no reference to language, manners, or customs; and as, in the former instance, all is mere conjecture, and hence it must follow, that throughout the whole extent of Britain, (as far at least as it was known to the Romans) there was, in no respect, any difference, except in the stature and complexion of the inhabitants.

Mr. Pinkarton's Belgic and Germanic hypothesis, merely form the basis of his Pictish one. No man decries etymology more than Pinkarton, yet no man dabbles more in it, or with less success. In order to find a name for his favourite Picts, he has mustered up all the *rubbish* of antiquity, and renders them, *Peohtas, Peahtas, Pehtas, Pihtas, Pyhtas, Pehiti, Pehti, Peychts, Pechts, Pihts, Peuchtas, Piki, Peukini, Peuhts, Phichtiad, Vecturiores, Vect-Veriar, Vik-Veriar, Viha, Vihr, Vicha, Vicher, Vihtveriar, Pihtar, Vihtar, Picti, and Vits, &c.* When any point needs so much belabouring as this, it is no great omen in its favour. Truth is a clear and obvious thing. If a man hits the nail on the head, it tells at once, and there is no occasion to repeat the blow. But such is this gentleman's Pictish partiality, that I verily believe he could derive the *darling word* PICT, from a *pack-thread* or a *potatoe*.

But what will any man think of Pinkarton's judgment and candour, when he imposes on the public, as *historic truth*, the following ridiculous fiction of his own brain. "But to return (says he) to the *Picti*, the Romans unhappily not catching from the pronunciation the old name *Peukini*, must have been puzzled how to modify this barbaric term: for as *Piki* implied in Latin *woodpeckers*, &c. a victory over these *Piki*, would have sounded odd in their annals. The Cumraig Britons called them *Phichtiad*, and the Romans could have only Latinized this name *Picti*, which was worse and worse, for a battle with *Ficti*,

feigned people, people of fiction, would have been matter of laughter. From Scandinavian pronunciation, the name was *Vici*, towns, or *Victi*, conquered, or *Vecti*, carried, so that the confusion was endless. *Picti* coming first to hand, took the place of all." Vol. 1. page 368 and 369.

From this visionary dream, unsupported by the least shadow of authority, we are told that the Romans were puzzled to find a name for the *Picts*. That they deliberated about calling them *Piki*, but this was rejected, because it signified *woodpeckers*. They then thought of *Ficti*, but this was also rejected, because it signified *feigned people*. They next deliberated on *Vici*, towns, *Victi*, conquered, and *Vecti*, carried, but all these shared the same fate. At last they hit on *Picti*, which they preferred to all the rest; yet Mr. Pinkerton tells us, that *Picti*, which he himself places the sixth in order, came first to hand. But it is well known the Romans were by no means over-delicate respecting even their own names, and must have been less so respecting those of barbarians and enemies. Two of the most celebrated Romans were surnamed *Bestia*, and *Brutus*, i. e. *beast*, and *brute*. Ovid, a poet of no mean celebrity, was surnamed *Naso*, i. e. *Nosy*, a name even in our own days given to such as have enormous, or Ovidian noses. No man in his senses will imagine the Romans gave themselves the least trouble about the name of the *Picts*, farther than Latinizing it in the same manner as they did *Galli*, *Scotti*, *Britanni*, *Caledonii*, &c.

Had Mr. Pinkerton searched for the word *Pict* in the aboriginal language of the *Picts* themselves, he could not have failed to discover it. The *Picts* in the Gaelic have two names, viz. *Cruinith*, *Cruineacht*, or *Cruitne*, (for it is differently written). Fortunately Mr. Innes, (see his *Critical Essay*) has rendered this name *painted*, in which I perfectly agree with him, and shall only add that the Gaelic verb *Cruinicam*, whence the name is derived, signifies *to paint*. The other name *Pict*, by the Romans rendered *Picti*, and by our historians *Picti*, *Pichti*, and *Piachti*, is merely the Gaelic *Pichatach*, Latinically terminated. *Pichat*, in the Gaelic signifies a *magpie*, and its regular adject-

tive *Pichatach* signifies *pie-coloured, variegated or painted*. *Pichat* sometimes written *Piche* and *Pighe*, is synonymous with the Roman *Pica*. The Irish *Cruineacht*, the Gaelic *Pichatach*, (generally abbreviated *Pichtach*,) and the Roman *Picti*, have the same signification, and nothing more is necessary to support this etymology, than to prove that the Picts painted themselves. But Mr. Pinkerton has rendered this unnecessary, as he reckons the Pictish custom of painting themselves the very quintessence of their claim to a Gothic origin. See vol. 1. p. 126. As to the name *Scot*, it is evidently the Gaelic *Scaoth*, signifying a *swarm or colony*, and hence figuratively an *exile, fugitive, or wanderer*. *Scaoth* is differently pronounced *Skyth*, *Skyt* and *Scut*. It is evidently the same with the Greek *Skythai*, and the Roman *Scythae*. That the ancient Scythians were a migratory people, who subsisted by pasturage and hunting, is so universally allowed, that it is unnecessary to prove it. But it would be in vain to look for the etymon of the *Scythians* in the Greek or Roman languages, whilst in the Celtic the radical meaning is still retained. Is it not therefore most probable that the Scythian language was a dialect of the Celtic? Mr. Pinkerton is fully aware of this objection, and provides against it by telling us the Scots were Scythians, but learned the Celtic language after their arrival in Ireland. From what authority he procured this information, he has not informed us, and it therefore rests on his mere assertion.

The name *Pict* and *Scot* are nearly coeval. Had the Picts brought their name with them from Scandinavia, three centuries before our æra, Tacitus would not, in the first century have called them *Caledoniæ*. But the truth appears to be, that in the third century a new nation, (the Scots from Ireland), came in contact with the Romans, and that nation which, before the arrival of this colony in Argyleshire, was denominated *Caledonii*, was now divided into *Picts* and *Scots*. It is really pitiful to see the shifts Mr. Pinkerton is obliged to have recourse to. He calls *Scot*, (vol. 1. p. 366.) the *little word Scot*, not recollecting that his own favourite word *Pik* is at least one letter less.

Mr. Pinkarton, that he may appropriate to his beloved Goths the sepulchral monuments wherein burnt human bones are found, says (vol. 1. p. 413.)—*there is no room to believe that the Celts ever burned their dead at all.* Will any man imagine that he could be ignorant of the following passage of Cæsar (lib. 6. cap. 19.)—*Funera sum, pro cultu Gallorum, magnifica et sumptuosa, omniaque quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia; ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, justis funebribus confectis, una cremabantur*—i. e. “The funerals of the Gauls, considering their circumstances, are magnificent and sumptuous; and they throw into the fire whatever they imagine was most esteemed by the deceased when alive, and even animals. A little before the recollection of the present day, those servants and clients who were most beloved by them (the necessary funeral rites being performed), were burnt along with them.” This is another instance of Mr. Pinkarton’s disingenuity.

Indeed he has, in many cases, hard work, but his dexterity is admirable, though, in some instances, extremely ludicrous. The *vitrified forts* in Scotland have outlived both history and tradition. There was therefore no authority for making them Pictish, for which cause he does not mention them in the text, but informs us by a note, (v. 2. p. 251.) that they were built by one *Paull Macktyre* in the 13th century. In the present case his usual ingenuity seems to have failed. As it was his intention not to ascribe them to the Celts, he should have assigned them to some gentleman of Gothic name; for as *Paull Macktyre* was, from the very name, clearly a Celt, these edifices must still be Celtic. Strange! that he could not have rendered them a *lusus naturæ*, or made *Torfaeus* swallow them.

The Celtic names which every where occur, are a source of infinite uneasiness to Mr. Pinkarton. He has indeed laid it down as an axiom, *That language is the surest mark, whereby to discover the origin of nations.* Yet he will not allow one argument to be deduced from this axiom in favour of the *Celts*, but monopolizes the whole for his beloved *Picts*. Did *Penden-*

nis, (says he,) in Asia Minor bear the same origin as *Pendennis* in Cornwall? This question is best answered by proposing a few more of the same kind. Did *New England* in America, bear the same origin with *Old England* in Britain? Did *Magna Græcia* bear the same origin as *Græcia Antiqua*? Did *Nova Scotia* bear the same origin as *Scotia Antiqua*? Did *Prince of Wales' Island* bear the same origin as a British *Prince of Wales*? Did *Montrose estate* in Jamaica, bear the same origin as *Montrose* in the county of Forfar? Did *New Holland* bear the same origin as *Old Holland*? Did the Caledonian *Pik* bear the same origin as the Norwegian *Vihhveriar*? This last Mr. Pinkerton has answered in the affirmative, and swallowed without a grudge, because it suited his favourite system. Whenever any word occurs which would favour the Celts, it is a mere *fall of letters*, but he can hammer out a name for his favourite *Piks*, where there is no *fall* of letters at all. *Vihhveriar*, is merely the Saxon or Gothic *Viht*, signifying *strong* or *wight*, and *Veriar*, the same with the Roman *Vir*, or the Celtic *Iear*, signifying a *man*. It is literally our modern surname *wightman*.

If every thing Celtic is sure to be reprobated by Mr. Pinkerton, the Celts themselves are still more roughly treated. He never mentions them with temper. He calls them *the first savages of Europe—the savage Celts—Catherens, Kerns, and Thieves—mere savages—the true Milesian breed, &c. &c.* Not one *Highlander* (he says) is to be found in the whole history of Scotland after the year 1056—they are mentioned as *thieves and robbers—they are dreaded by the Lowlanders, as all civilized nations fear savages—they are like the Macassars and wild Americans, &c. &c.* Is this the sober language of history, or even of decent abuse? The Celts have been harrassed and plundered by the Goths time immemorial, and eventually driven from the one extremity of Europe to the other; nor are they at all culpable for having made repeated efforts to recover what was originally their own.

NOTE LXVI.—PAGE 183.

Had their tin from hence.—That the Greeks and Phœnicians traded to South Britain for tin, as early as the time of Herodotus, can admit of no doubt; and hence the British islands are by him named *Cassiterides*. Pliny (lib. 7. cap. 56.) mentions *Insula Cassiteride*—i. e. “the Tin Island.” If the Celts in Wales, at so early a period, wrought the tin mines to that extent, as to supply Greece and Phœnicia, they cannot have been such savages as Pinkerton represents them. With his usual *etymological mania*, he derives *Cassiteros* (tin) from the Greek *Cassa*, meaning a *base woman*. But where, in the name of wonder, can the name be found, but where the article was produced; and is it not natural to infer that the Greeks borrowed the name along with the article. This we know to be generally the case; for no nation can have a name for a thing totally unknown. Mr. Pinkerton rests his etymology on the groundless assertion, that it was at first principally used as *mock silver* for ornaments to prostitutes. No such thing is the case. The word is the Celtic *Casse-tair*, (pronounced *Cassiter*) to which the Greeks added their peculiar termination *os*, and formed *Cassiteros*. *Casse-tair* signifies the vulgar or base sheet or bar, to distinguish it from silver, which is called *Airgad*—i. e. “the clear or precious sheet or bar.” This is no vain fancy, for in the Gaelic, *Tara* signifies the multitude, and *Cran Tara*, the beam of the multitude, or the beam of gathering, being used to convoke the multitude on any sudden emergency. The adjective *Tair* signifies any thing pertaining to the multitude, and hence base or vulgar. So far, therefore, from *Cassiteros* being derived from the Greek *Cassa*, the Greek *Cassa* is derived from the Gaelic *Casse*; a base woman being to a virtuous one, what tin is to silver. Not only the word, but the very antithesis is Celtic. The Celts were early acquainted with the precious metals. They could not work the tin mines without being acquainted with silver; and the Druid’s Egg, from the most remote antiquity, was bound in gold.

NOTE LXVII.—PAGE 183.

The Gignonian Stone.—Of this word I have been able to find no satisfactory analysis; but, from the description, it is unquestionably a rocking stone.

NOTE LXVIII.—PAGE 187.

Augury was formerly one of the most universal superstitions, &c.—Mr. Toland has enlarged so far on this head, that it is unnecessary for me to add any thing on the subject. I shall, therefore, content myself with stating a very singular custom of the Britons, mentioned by Cæsar (lib. 5. cap. 12.)—*Leporem et Gallinam et Anserem, gustare fas non putant; hæc tamen alunt, animi, voluptatisque causa*—i. e. “They hold it unlawful to eat the hare, the hen, or the goose; yet they rear them for pleasure and amusement.” Dr. Smith differs from Cæsar, and supposes that the Britons did eat them, but without adducing the slightest authority. With his usual inaccuracy, he mentions the hen and the goose, but omits the hare altogether.—See *Hist. Druid.* p. 36. Cæsar had good access to know the fact, and ought not to be contradicted, unless on good authority. To the goose, the Romans themselves paid a superstitious respect, because they once saved the capitol. The hare and the cock are, among ourselves, even at the present day, ominous. Pliny (lib. 10. cap. 21.) says, the premature crowing of the cock in the evening is portentous. The very same opinion prevails among ourselves to the present hour. The same author (*ibidem*) says they crowed a whole night, when they foretold the noble victory of the Beotians over the Lacedæmonians. One of the symbols of Pythagoras is, *Feed the cock, but sacrifice him not, because he is sacred to the sun and to the moon.*—See *Dacier's Life of Pythagoras*, p. 107. As to the hare, it is only necessary to observe that it is the very animal into which witches are, by the vulgar, supposed to transform themselves. It is, therefore, most likely that the Gauls reared the hare, the hen, and the goose, for the purposes of domestic augury or divination, on any sudden emer-

gency, when no omen could be obtained from the wild fowls, who were more without their reach.

NOTE LXIX.—PAGE 205.

Borr.—This word has crept into our common colloquial language; and there is nothing more common than for a person to say, he will do any thing with all his *Borr*, or *Birr*—i. e. “with all his strength.” The radical import of the word is *Strength*, or, when adjectively taken, *Strong*. *Boreas*—i. e. the *North-wind*, is supposed to be peculiarly Greek. But this groundless idea may be confuted by any one capable of consulting a Greek lexicon, and seeing the wretched attempts made to etymologize it in that language. It is attempted to be derived *apo tou Boacin kai Recin*—i. e. “from roaring and running.” The other derivation is from *Bora*—i. e. “grass for cattle,” as if *Boreas* were a promoter of vegetation, instead of being a destroyer of it. The merits of the Gaelic language have never been duly appreciated. It is more or less the foundation of all the languages of the west, and in particular those of Greece and Rome have borrowed copiously from it. I have already noticed, that Calpine derives Apollo from the Greek participle *Apolyon*, and makes him the *destroyer*, instead of the *benefactor* of the human race—that Dr. Tytler and Mr. Bryant derive Apollo (*Carneus*) from the Greek *Keren*, and by this means make him a *Horn*, or a *Stork*—that Cicero derives *Sol* (the sun) from the Latin *Solus* (alone), and makes him the solitary and exclusive traveller of the celestial expanse. In the present instance we see the Grecian etymologists ascribing to the north-wind (*Boreas*) the characteristic qualities of a mad bull, and at the same time making him the genial promoter of herbage and food for cattle, and by this means ascribing to him a train of gentle and benevolent qualities, the very reverse of these possessed by him. I have already rectified the etymologies of *Apollo*, *Sol*, and *Carneus*, from the Celtic, and shall now advert to that of *Boreas*. *Borr*, or *Bor*, in the Celtic, signifies *Strong*, and *Eas* a *Cataract*, *Tempest*, or *Blast of Wind*, or any thing very impetuous. *Bor-Eas* then literally

signifies the *Strong Wind*, a name truly emphatic, and admirably descriptive of the north wind, which is the strongest and most impetuous of all winds. The Celts used this name, and the Greeks borrowed it from them.

It is well known that the Greeks, notwithstanding their boasted antiquity, are but a modern nation in comparison of the Jews, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Indians, Celts, &c. Before *Thales*, who was contemporary with *Pythagoras*, they had a few politicians and legislators, but not one philosopher. *Pythagoras* gained little knowledge in Greece, but studied principally in India, Chaldea, Italy (Umbria), and, above all, in Egypt. The dawn of philosophy in Greece happened only about six centuries before the christian æra. *Abaris*, the Hyperborean priest of the sun, and unquestionably a Celt (as I shall afterwards evince), was the cotemporary and intimate acquaintance of *Pythagoras*, and does not appear to have been in any respect inferior to him. This is the more extraordinary, as *Pythagoras* had completed his studies, before his acquaintance with *Abaris* commenced. Hence it is certain that the country of *Abaris*, at that period, excelled Greece in the knowledge of philosophy. That the Celts were the first inhabitants of Europe, is admitted by *Pinkerton*, their bitterest enemy. He even supposes (v. 2. p. 25.) that Ireland, the most distant of the Celtic settlements, was inhabited from 1000 to 2000 years before our æra. At any rate the migration of the Celts from Asia, the cradle of the human race, must have happened early after the deluge. They must have preceded the Greeks several centuries. Within the period of authentic history, we find them, intermixed with the Greeks, for many centuries their neighbours, and not unfrequently their conquerors. The same, with equal certainty, may be said of the Romans. Is it then to be wondered at, that the languages of Greece and Rome are tinged with the Celtic?

The migration of the Celts from Asia to Europe is a very remote event. Mr. Chalmers (see his *Caledonia*) says they met with little struggle or opposition, else some tradition of the event

would have remained. But if they themselves were the *Aborigines*, there was nobody to struggle with.

Of all the post-diluvian languages, the *Chaldaic* has the fairest claim to antiquity. Abraham was called from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, and must have carried that language along with him. The Hebrew language is, therefore, only a dialect of the Chaldaic. That the Celtic is a dialect of the same language, is highly probable. Nations have, in all ages, been extremely solicitous to preserve their own name and the names of their gods. The Chaldaic, *Chaldach*, and the Gaelic *Caltach*, (a Celt) are exactly the same. That the same god, *Bel*, was the chief object of worship in both nations, is beyond dispute. From the same source the Bramins, the Phœnicians, and the Hebrews, &c. borrowed their language and their god, *Bel* or *Baal*. The most probable etymon of the word *Celt*, or *Caltach*, is *Cealtach* (Latine *Cælestes*)—i. e. “men addicted to the study of the heavens.” *Ceal*, or *Cal*, in the Celtic, signifies heaven, and its regular adjective is *Cealtach*, or *Caltach*. The Chaldeans, from the most remote ages, have been famed for judicial astrology, and the Celts, while their Druids remained, were equally celebrated. *Chasdim* was the original name of Chaldea, but this was soon lost in the empire of the Babylonians, Medes, and Persians, under whose dominion they alternately fell. *Chaldach*, which the Greeks rendered *Chaldaioi*, and the Romans *Chaldæi*, is merely an *appellative* expressive of their attachment to the study of the *cælestial* bodies. I shall revert to this subject when I treat of the antiquity of the use of letters among the Celts.

NOTE LXX.—PAGE 206.

Boreades is merely a derivative from *Boreas*, and signifies the sons or descendants of Boreas, in the same manner as *Pelides* is derived from *Peleus*. *Boireadhach* literally signifies *strong*, or *powerful*. It is the same with the Greek *Borcades*. *Hyperboreans* (*Hyperboraioi*), as Mr. Toland well remarks, is a name expressive of a people living very far north. Its proper signification is, *above or beyond the North Wind*. As both these are

derivatives from *Boreas*, which, in the former note, has been analyzed, it is unnecessary to add more on this head.

NOTE LXXI.—PAGE 207.

Hid it among the Hyperboreans, &c.—The assertion of Eratoshenes, “that Apollo hid the arrow with which he slew the Cyclopes, among the Hyperboreans,” merits attention. I have already noticed that Pausanias supposes *Ollen* (nearly the same with the Irish name *Ullin*) founded the oracle of Delphi, and was the first who gave responses in heroic verse. I have also observed that almost all the Greek deities, and particularly Apollo, were borrowed from other nations. But whatever difference of opinion there may be on this head, it is on all hands agreed, that Apollo deserted *Delphi*, and went to the Hyperboreans. Demosthenes, who wrote about three hundred and fifty years before our æra, says this oracle had begun, *Philippizein*—i. e. “to return such answers as suited the views of Philip the Macedonian. Lucian tells us,

Non ulla secula dono
Nostra carent majore Deum, quam Delphica sedes
Quod siluit.

i. e. “Our age is not deprived of a greater blessing of the gods, than the Delphic oracle, which hath become silent.” Strabo, Juvenal, Claudian, &c. bear testimony to the same effect, and, for brevity’s sake, the reader is referred to *Potter’s Antiquities*, where he will find the point discussed at some length, and will also see that the Greeks used to apply to the Hyperboreans for responses, after the oracle of Delphi ceased.—*Potter’s Antiquities*, vol. 1. p. 249—250, &c.

NOTE LXXII.—PAGE 207.

Winged temple.—In the Greek of Eratoshenes, it is *Naos Pterinos*, which Mr. Toland renders *a temple made of wings*, or a *winged temple*. Perhaps the phrase *Pterinos Naos* may be best explained by comparing it with *Pteroenta epea*—i. e. “winged words.” Now we know that words are neither made of wings,

nor winged. *Pterocis* is generally applied to the flight of arrows. It is a figurative phrase denoting great swiftness or celerity. But fowls are not more famed for their celerity, than the height to which they soar. Hence *Pterocis* and *Pterinos* may signify either *rapid* or *lofty*. *Swift words* is a phrase admissible, but a *swift temple* is nonsense, unless it could be made appear that this temple, like that of *Lorretto*, flew through the air, and performed an incredible journey in one night. Perhaps the most natural signification of *Pterinos Naos* is a *lofty temple*.

It is, however, easy to perceive the reason which induced Mr. Toland to render it the *winged temple*. He imagined he had found such a temple in the island of Lewis, and (p. 136. & 137.) particularly describes it. Dr. Smith (p. 65.) contents himself with re-echoing Mr. Toland's description, and does not add a single remark of his own. But the most extraordinary and unaccountable circumstance is, that no attempt has been made to analyse the name. It is differently pronounced *Classarniss*, *Clasharnish*, and *Calarnish*, but all these have the same import. In the vulgar Scottish dialect of the English, it is very common to sound the Gaelic *ch* final, like the French *ch*, and render it *sh*. *Druineach* (Druidical) is commonly pronounced *Druinish*. *Clasharnish* is then merely the common, corrupt pronunciation of the Gaelic *Clach Arneach*—i. e. "the *Judicial Stone*, or *Stone of the Judge*. *Calarnish* (*Cil-Arneach*) signifies the *Judicial circle*. *Classarniss* (*Clas-Arneach*) signifies the *Judicial enclosure*. *Arn*, in the Gaelic, signifies a *Judge*, and *Arnach*, *Arneach*, and *Arnadh*, (for they are all the same) signifies *Judicial*, or any thing belonging to a judge. We have many other names of the same kind, viz. *Killearny* (*Cil-Arnadh*) in Ireland—i. e. "the *Judicial circle*. *Killearn* (*Cil-Airn*), the name of a parish in Stirlingshire—i. e. "the *Circle of the judge*. *Airn* is the genitive of *Arn*. *Killearnan* (*Cil-Airnan*), the name of a parish in Ross-shire—i. e. "the *Circle of the inferior Judge*, &c. &c. *Arnan* is the diminutive of *Arn*, and its genitive *Airnan*. We can also trace the residence of these Judges in the names *Arn-hall*, *Arn-gask*, &c. *Gasc* or *Casc* (*Casac*) is the

abbreviated diminutive of the Gaelic *Cas*, a house, whence the Romans formed their *Casa*, a cottage. There is an *Auchen-cas* in the neighbourhood of Moffat. From *Cas* is formed the adjective *Cascadh* (pronounced *Caskie*). *Caskie Ben*, near Aberdeen, signifies *the hill abounding with houses*, and the vestiges of them can be traced in a number of small cairns which still remain. *Tynron Dun*, *Turin Hill*, *Catterthun*, and many a noble structure of our Celtic ancestors, now present themselves to our view in the form of a cairn. From the size, structure, and name of this circle, there cannot remain a doubt that it was a judicial one. What was really the temple stood about a quarter of a mile distant. Mr. Toland's error in taking it for a temple, is extremely venial. Had he lived, he intended to have passed six months in examining the Hebridian antiquities—a clear evidence that he considered his information respecting them defective and incomplete. But what are we to think of Dr. Smith, who professes to give us a complete history of the Druids, and yet passes over this circle in so superficial and erroneous a manner. In a former note I have divided the Druidical circles into two kinds, viz. *religious* and *judicial*. *Clacha-Braith*, and *Clach-Arneach*, have the same signification; and from the evidence formerly and now adduced, I hope this distinction rests on a firm and stable basis. Mr. Toland's mistake is, however, greatly to be regretted, not only because he has misled Dr. Smith and others, but because a great part of his reasoning respecting the Hyperborean Abaris rests on it, and must now fall to the ground.

The judicial circle in question is perfectly *unique*. We have (*nil simile nec secundum*) nothing like it, nor nearly like it. What has been mistaken for the wings, is only the four cardinal points of the compass. These, and the centre stone in the shape of a ship's rudder, clearly allude to the insular or maritime government of the Hebrides; and could we indulge the thought that this circle was exclusively devoted to the decision of maritime causes, the allusion would be complete. Here, for once, I am happy to agree with Mr. Pinkerton in pronouncing this judi-

cial circle, the supreme court of the Hebudian monarch. *Fiat justitia, ruat Cælum.*

NOTE LXXIII.—PAGE 209.

Sacred arrow.—This is the arrow with which Apollo slew the Cyclops. When Abaris travelled to Greece to visit Pythagoras, he made him a present of this arrow. It was, however, perhaps nothing more than a fictitious relic. Mankind are, in all ages and nations, much the same. The immense value put on fictitious relics by the Romish ecclesiastics, is well known. Abaris is said to have entered Greece, riding on this arrow. Similar notions are still prevalent in this country. Indeed the Grecian and British customs bear a strong resemblance, particularly in their mode of drinking from right to left, according to the course of the sun. The Celts went three times round the Cairn when they worshipped; and to this Pythagoras perhaps alludes in the following symbol:—"Turn round when you worship."—See *Dacier's Life of Pythagoras*, p. 120. In Greece, before they gave a child its name, they carried it round the fire.—*Bogan's Attic Antiq.* p. 212. The Greeks burnt their dead, and-so did the Celts. The hospitality of the Greeks was equal to that of the Celts.

But to return to this famous arrow, it was certainly symbolical. The doctrines of Pythagoras, as well as the Druids, were all mystical and symbolical. Among the ancients, Apollo was called (*Arcitenens*) the archer. Pliny (lib. 18. cap. 26.) mentions a constellation named (*sagitta*) the arrow. Arrows are keen and piercing—so is true philosophy and sound reasoning. Under the symbol of this arrow is probably meant the whole Hyperborean philosophy, which Abaris communicated to Pythagoras, and he, in return, communicated to Abaris the Grecian philosophy. Calepine (*vide Dictionarium*) gives the following account of Abaris:—"Abaris is the proper name of a man who is said to have carried an arrow over the world, without tasting food. It is said that this Abaris, the son of *Seutha*, was not ignorant of letters, and wrote oracles which are called Scythian,

and the arrival of Apollo among the Hyperboreans, from whom he had received the said arrow, in poetry. Gregory, the theologist, also mentions him in his epitaph to the great Basil. So far Cœlius. Besides the Scythian oracles, and the marriage of the river Hebrus, he wrote some other things, as Suidas mentions. Herodotus in *Melpomene*, and Strabo, lib. 7. also mention him." The reader will find several interesting particulars of Abaris, and his wonderful arrow or javelin, in *Dacier's Life of Pythagoras*, p. 70 & 71.

What has greatly injured the history of Pythagoras and Abaris in the eyes of the present age, is their pretension to magic, miracles, and divination. But these were the *hobby horse* of the day, and there was no possibility of being eminent without them. Even the Romish ecclesiastics, who ought to have known better, did not give up their pretensions to miracles and prophecy, till the enlightened state of mankind would give them credit for neither. The Greeks (as I have formerly noticed) had an opinion that the Hyperboreans founded the Delphic oracle of Apollo, and that at last he went to the Hyperboreans altogether. Abaris, who wrote the history of this event, must have been very acceptable to Pythagoras; and that his arguments on this head were convincing, we need only to mention that the great, the wise, the celebrated Pythagoras exposed himself to public view, in a full assembly at the Olympic games, as the *Hyperborean Apollo*.—*Dacier's Life of Pythagoras*, p. 69. Can there be a more convincing argument that at that time the *Hyperborean Apollo* was held in much higher estimation than the Grecian one? As to the arrow or javelin of Abaris, which has afforded, and may still afford, ground for numerous conjectures, I am of opinion (whatever was its shape) that it was nothing more than his *Magical staff*. The staff has been, in all ages, the emblem of power. Almost all eminent persons used one, but in a pretender to magic it was indispensable.

NOTE LXXIV.—PAGE 207.

Then the most celebrated Abaris was both of this country, &c.

—Of all attempts to determine the country of Abaris, Toland's is the most ingenious and probable. Dr. Smith imagines the name was *Abarich*, from Abar (Latine Abria), the ancient name of Lochabar. The conjecture is ingenious, and may, perhaps, be founded in fact. Still I think it better to content ourselves with what can be certainly known of this eminent man, than to build hypothetical theories respecting the spot of his nativity, which can, perhaps, never be certainly known. That he was a Celt, a Druid, a philosopher, an author, and the most accomplished scholar of his age, rests on the most unexceptionable evidence. It is agreed on all hands that Europe was peopled by two distinct races of men, the Celts, and the Scythians, Goths, or Germans (for these three are all the same). Pinkarton admits that the Germans were not acquainted with the use of letters, till the ninth century; and Abaris, who wrote 1500 years before, could not be a German. On the testimony of Cæsar, the Germans had neither priests nor sacrifices, and consequently no temples; but Abaris had a winged temple, and was the priest of Apollo, consequently he must have been a Celtic priest or Druid. Mr. Pinkarton, sensible that he could not claim him as a Goth, and unwilling to pay the smallest tribute of respect to the Celts, has not once mentioned his name; and this circumstance alone will have great weight with any one who knows Mr. Pinkarton's extreme alertness and dexterity in catching at every thing that can favour his Gothic system, and in studiously suppressing whatever might add lustre to the latter. The merits of Abaris as a philosopher, author and scholar, stand fully recorded in the page of history, and need no comment from me. As to his country, it is, from all circumstances, extremely probable, though not absolutely certain, that he was a Hebridian.

NOTE LXXV.—PAGE 210.

Whether the Egyptians had not these things before either of them, &c.—That the Egyptians were the first inventors of the *Metempsychosis* is evident from the following passage of Herodotus, quoted by Dacier in his life of Pythagoras, p. 43. “The

Egyptians likewise were the first that said the soul of man is immortal, that after the death of the body it passes successively into the bodies of beasts; that after having passed through the bodies of terrestrial animals, as well of the water as of the air, it comes again to animate the body of a man, and that it accomplishes this round in the space of three thousand years. Some Greeks have given out this doctrine, as if it had been their own, some sooner, some later, and I know who they are, but will not name them." Persia has generally been reckoned the parent of magic, but from Moses' whole account of the Egyptian magicians, this may be fairly doubted. Indeed their progress in this art, the most respected of all the arts of antiquity, is so incredibly astonishing, that, had it been transmitted to us through any other channel than that of the *sacred records*, it would have been regarded as a downright fiction. In superb and colossal structures they stand unrivalled in the page of history. Their early acquaintance with hieroglyphics is well known. As early as the time of Moses they must have had the use of letters, for it was here (by a special interposition of Divine Providence) that he received his education. In a word, it is clear from the whole history of Pythagoras, that Egypt had, at that period, attained a higher pitch of perfection, in the arts and sciences than any other nation then known. That the Greeks received the doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* from the Egyptians is clear from the testimony of Herodotus in the passage above quoted, but whence the Celts received it, is more than I shall pretend to determine.

It is, however, certain that this was one of their chief doctrines. Cæsar says, (lib. 6. cap 14.) *In primis hoc volunt persuadere; non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto.*—i. e. "It is their chief study to inculcate this doctrine, that souls do not die, but that, after death, they pass from one body to another; and by this means they think they are in the highest degree excited to virtue, when the fear of death is laid aside." Of all authors, Cæsar is most to be de-

pended on respecting the Druids. Earlier writers saw them at too great a distance to speak with certainty, and later writers saw them only in their persecuted and depressed state. Cæsar saw this order of men in the very vigour of the institution, and was besides intimately acquainted with the Archdruid Divitiacus, from whom, in all probability, he derived his information. Yet Dr. Smith, (p. 59) gravely tells us, that the belief of the *Metempsychosis*, never prevailed among the Druids. His reason is obvious. There is no mention of this particular tenet in the poems of Ossian. But whether the reader chuses in this instance to credit Dr. Smith in preference to Cæsar, is not my business to determine. Of all who have written on the subject of the Druids, Dr. Smith has exposed them most, and benefited them least. One of his grandest flights is (p. 73.) that of ascribing to the Druids the invention of *gun-powder*. This sublime idea he perhaps borrowed from Milton, who, in his *Paradise Lost*, ascribes this invention to the *fallen angels*. Both conjectures are equally rational, and equally founded in truth.

NOTE LXXVI.—PAGE 213.

Hebrides.—There is a marked affinity betwixt this word and the river *Hebrus* (in the Greek *Hebros*) concerning which Abarris is said to have written a treatise in poetry. In the Roman language *Patronymics* are formed by adding *des* to the first case of the primitive in *i*. Thus, from *Pelei* is formed *Peleides*, or *Pelides*; from *Priami* is formed *Priamides*, &c. In the same manner from *Hebri*, the genitive of *Hebrus*, may be formed *Hebrides*. All know that, from the Greeks, the Romans derived this mode of formation. Now as the words *Hebros* and *Hebrides* have been transmitted to us through the medium of the Greek and Roman languages, they have, no doubt, been adapted to the idiom of these languages. To come as near the original word as possible, we must divest *Hebros* of its Grecian dress, strip it of the aspirate *h* (*h* is initial in no Celtic word) and of the termination *os*, when there remains *Ebr*. The original word is probably *Aibar*, *Ebar*, *Eabar*, or perhaps *Abar*. But some

trifler may object that the word in question is *Hebrus*, a river in Thrace. That this idea has generally prevailed, I readily grant; but is it once to be imagined that Abaris, a Hyperborean, would celebrate a river in Thrace, which he probably never saw; and is it not infinitely more probable, that, with the predilection peculiar to all poets, he celebrated his own *native stream*. His other treatise on the removal of Apollo to the Hyperboreans, was founded on fact, and one in which the honour of his country, and its antiquities, were highly concerned. But it may also be objected, that *Abaris* celebrated the marriage of a river, and consequently the whole is a fiction. In the Greek and Roman mythology, such instances are almost infinite. In our own days, Northesk, a river, Aberdeen, a city, Queensberry, a hill, &c. are the signatures and titles of eminent noblemen; and that a man and a river had, in Abaris' time, the same name, is not at all to be wondered at. Local names are, of all others, the most numerous. The names *Abaris*, *Hebrus*, and *Hebrides*, divested of their Greek and Roman peculiarities, are *Abar*, *Ebr*, and *Ebrid*. If in the Hebrides (unquestionably the Hyperborean island of Diodorus), a river of the name *Ebr* could be found, with such a temple as that described by Eratosthenes standing near it, the country of Abaris might still be determined. Nay, if such a river could be found near the noble judicial circle of *Clacharneach*, I would even admit that it might be the temple described by Eratosthenes. It was certainly more pardonable in a Greek to mistake this circle for a temple, than for Mr. Pinkerton, with infinitely better means of information, to mistake all the Druidical temples in the world for Gothic courts of justice.

NOTE LXXVII.—PAGE 223.

The lesser circumjacent islands.—*Iona*, one of these islands, deserves particular attention, though on a different account from that mentioned by Toland. Its history presents to us a strange compound of Druidism and Christianity. The original name is *Inis-Druineach*, i. e. "The island of the Druids." Close to

the sound of *I* stands *Claodh-nan-Druineach*, i. e. "The grave of the Druids." Mr. Pennant, (see his *Tour*,) found here the Druidical temple, and the Cairn, as also an imitation of the rocking-stone. The relics of christianity are still more conspicuous and venerable. It is, however, St. Columba's entry into this island, and his subsequent conduct, which claim our attention, as even under all the palliatives which have been purposely thrown over them, they are strongly expressive of the formidable opposition he met with from the Druids. I shall then state the case as briefly and impartially as I can. "The saint, on his arrival, began to build a chapel or church, but was always interrupted by the *intervention of evil spirits*. When it was found impossible to proceed, a consultation was held, and it was found necessary to appease these *evil spirits* by the sacrifice of a man. *Oran*, one of the saint's twelve attendants, voluntarily devoted himself, and was buried alive below the foundation. The *evil spirits* were appeased, and no farther interruption was offered. The chapel was finished, and dedicated to *St. Oran*, and still retains his name." This pitiful story cannot impose even on the most credulous or ignorant. The intervention of evil spirits, though firmly credited in the dark and superstitious ages, is now deservedly treated with contempt. The only opposition St. Columba could meet with was from the Druids, and before they would allow him to build this chapel, they compelled him to comply with the Druidical custom of burying a man under the foundations. An instance of the same kind occurs in the sacred records. Hiel, the Bethelite, (1 *Kings* 16. v. 34.) laid the foundations of Jericho on his oldest son Abiram, and founded the gates on his youngest son Segub. The ridiculous story that Oran was put to death for blasphemy, is one of the most wretched of all fabrications to shelter the saint from the infamy of having offered a human sacrifice. But falsehood never is (*ab omni parte beatum*) in all respects consistent, and the saint's biographers would have done well not to have retailed impossibilities for facts. Could Oran blaspheme after being three days and three nights buried under the foundation of this chapel

(for it is not even alleged that he did it sooner), or would the saint have dedicated this religious edifice to a man who had been put to death for *blasphemy*?

This human sacrifice being offered, and a compromise betwixt St. Columba and the Druids having taken place, the Druidical temple, the *cairn* and the *Cromlech*, (if there was one,) would naturally be superseded by this new chapel, and fall into disuse. Still there was another difficulty to combat. The *judicial circle* and the *rocking stone* remained to be disposed of. Here too the Druids appear to have made a firm stand. Mr. Pennant tells us, on the authority of Mr. Sacheverell, that before the reformation, there were here three noble marble globes placed in three stone basons, which the inhabitants turned three times round according to the course of the sun. These were thrown into the sea at the reformation, but Mr. Pennant, in 1772, found a wretched substitute for them composed of the pedestal of a broken cross, and the supporters of a grave stone. These stones were then turned round as formerly, and a tradition prevailed that the day of judgment would come, when the pedestal on which they moved was worn out, and they still retained the name of *Clucha-Brath*—i. e. “The stones of judgment.” See *Pennant's Tour in 1772*.

It is easy to perceive that the same compromise took place here, as at the building of *Oran's* chapel. The Druids relinquished the judicial circle, and the rocking stone, and received from the saint these marble globes as a substitute. The saint, however, took care to inculcate the terrible idea, that the day of judgment would come as soon as the basons on which these globes rested were worn out, and this he unquestionably did, to deter them from the practice altogether. But in spite of this tremendous impression, and though they must have believed that every time they turned these stones round they were accelerating the day of judgment, still the custom prevailed as late as 1772, and may perhaps prevail at the present day; so difficult is it to eradicate inveterate superstition. These three globes were perhaps emblematical of the Trinity, and if the saint could

not deter the Ionians from turning them round, it was his last shift to render them at least symbolically subservient to the true religion.

NOTE LXXVIII.—PAGE 228.

Armoric and Irish languages.—As the Editor's notes have extended to a much greater length than originally intended, and as the specimen of the Armorican and Irish language here alluded to, has no connection with the *History of the Druids*, it is not inserted in this edition.

NOTE LXXIX.—PAGE 247.

Taramis, or *Taranis*, is the Gaelic *Taran*, or *Tharan*, i. e. "thunder." This god is the same with the Grecian *Zeus*, or the Roman *Jupiter*. By this deity the Celts understood *Beal*. *Taranis*, or *Tharanis*, is sometimes by a *Metathesis*, written *Thanaris*, or *Tanaris*, which bears a great affinity to the English *thunder*, the German *Donder*, and the Roman *Tpnitru*. Lucan mentions him, (*lib.* 1.) in these words:

Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

i. e. "And Taranis not milder than the altar of Scythian Diana." To him were offered human sacrifices. From the Celts the Germans borrowed *Tharanis*, and by abbreviation formed their God *Thor*, whence *Thursday*, the same as the Roman *Dies Iovis*.

NOTE LXXX.

Hesus—was the Celtic god of war. Dr. Smith derives this word from the Gaelic *Dhe*, to which it has not the most distant affinity. Lucan (*lib.* 1.) mentions him thus:

Horrensque feris altaribus Hesus.

Lactantius (*lib.* 7.) says,—*Galli Hesium atque Teutatem humano cruore placabant, qui sane feralis ritus diu similiter apud Italos stetit, qui Latialem Jovem et Saturnum humana placabant hostia*—i. e. "The Gauls appeased Hesus and Teutates with human blood, which truly savage custom long prevailed among

the Italians, who appeased Latian Jove, and Saturn, with human victims." The etymon of *Hesus* has been uniformly mistaken. The glory of a warrior is his strength, and the Celtic god of war behaved to be a powerful deity. The Celtic names are generally descriptive, and highly appropriate. To their god of war they gave the name *Eas* or *Es*, i. e. a *torrent* or *cataract* that sweeps all before it, to which the Romans added their termination *us*, and formed *Esus* or *Hesus*. The name conveys to us the same idea, but in a much more primitive and forcible manner, as if they had named him *irresistible* or *invincible*, for who could contend with a *cataract*? The Tuscan god Esar, whom the Tuscans borrowed from the Umbrians their præcursors, has the very same signification. In the Gaelic language, *Eas fhear* is still a name of the deity, and literally means *the man of the cataract*.

NOTE LXXXII.

Teutates.—Lucan, (lib. 1.) says,

Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro

Teutates.

i. e. "And by whom (the Gauls,) cruel *Teutates* is appeased by direful blood." Calepine, on the authority of Plato, reckons him the inventor of geometry and astronomy. If so, Cicero (de Nat. Deor.) very properly reckons him an Egyptian god, geometry having been first invented in Egypt to determine the limits of private property, which were annually effaced by the overflowings of the Nile. *Sanhoniathon*, the Phœnician, contemporary with Gideon, and who composed his history about 1200 years prior to our æra, reckons *Teutates*, or (as he calls him) *Taaut*, the inventor of letters, and says he was indebted to the book of *Taaut* for the greater part of his materials. This god is supposed to have been the Mercury of the Greeks. In the Gaelic this word signifies *Warmth*, or *Heat*.—See Note 33.

NOTE LXXXIII.

Belenus vel Abellio.—Both these deities have already been adverted to.—See Note 42.

NOTE LXXXIV.

Hogmius.—Of this deity Mr. Toland has given a very particular description in a quotation from *Lucian*.—See p. 168.

NOTE LXXXV.

Onvana.—on the authority of Mr. Toland, signifies the sea. I have been able to procure no other information respecting this deity.—See p. 137.

NOTE LXXXVI.

Adraste.—Respecting this goddess there has been some difference of opinion. The Greeks seem to have considered her as *Nemesis*, or the goddess of revenge. *Vide Calepinum in verbo Adrastea*. Still Calepine admits that on a plain near the city *Adrastea*, there was a noble oracle of *Actæan Apollo*, and *Diana*. He also tells us that some supposed this city received its name from a *Mountain Nymph*, which applies very well to *Diana*. The truth appears to be, that *Adrastus*, when he built this city, called both it and the goddess after his own name. The noble oracle of *Apollo and Diana*, and the tradition that the city took its name from a mountain nymph, clearly imply that *Diana* was the goddess in question. There can be little doubt that the goddess here meant is the Phœnician *Ashtaroth*, or *Astarte*—i. e. “the moon.” Indeed there is no instance on record of any nation having worshipped the sun, who did not worship the moon also. It would almost fill a volume to narrate the contrary notions entertained of her by the ancients, and the different names ascribed to her. The very first mention we have of this goddess is in the sacred records, under the name of *Ashtaroth*. *Sanhoniathon* (see *Eusebius, his Transcriber*, and *Philo-Biblius, his Translator*) calls this goddess *Astarte*. This has not hindered *Herodian* (lib. 5.) in his *History of Antoninus Basilianus*, to tell us that the Phœnicians called this goddess *Astroarchē*, forgetting that this name is not Phœnician, but pure Greek, and signifies the *Queen of the Stars*. Pausanias (in *Lac*

conicis) says,—“the Pyrrichians have in their country the temple of *Diana Astratea*, and the reason why they called her so was, because the army of the Amazons stopped there, and went no farther.” This is another instance of Grecian vanity and absurdity, to derive the Phœnician *Astarte* from the Greek *Alpha privative*, and *Stratos*, an army. Most unfortunately all the ancient deities, or at least by far the greater part of them, have passed to us through the medium of the Greek and Roman languages, and are so mutilated and distorted, as hardly to be recognized. When stript of this disguise, the Celtic deities are *Taram* (*Thunder*)—*Eas*, or *Es*, a *Cataract*—the name of their god of war,—*Teutat*, *Heat*, an epithet of the sun, and the same with the *Taaut* of the Phœnicians, mentioned by *Sanchoniathon*, and the *Teutat* of the Egyptians, mentioned by Cicero—*Bealen*, or *Aballa* (names of the sun)—*Onvana* (the sea)—*Ogmadh* (learned, a name of Hercules)—and *Astarte* (the moon, the same as the *Astarte* of *Sanchoniathon*.) Hence it is evident that the Celtic mythology has overstepped that of the Greeks and Romans, and is more ancient than either. *Teutat* and *Astarte* are strictly Phœnician, though the Greeks claim the first under the name of *Mercurius Trismegitus*, and the last under the name of *Adrastea*, *Astratea*, *Astroarchē*, *Juno*, *Diana*, &c. *Beal* is also a Phœnician deity. *Aballa* (pronounced *Apalla*) I have in a former note shewn to be the radix of the Greek *Apollon*, and the Roman *Apollo*. As to *Eas*, *Taram*, *Ogmadh*, and *Onvana*, they are so peculiarly Celtic, that no other nation has ventured to claim them, though the Romans have added *Taramis* to their *Jupiter*. Not one Celtic deity is of Greek or Roman origin, though their chief deities, as well as their religious rites, can be demonstrated to be Phœnician. It is therefore historic truth, that the Celts are more ancient than the Greeks, and that they migrated from Asia to Europe, before Greece had even a name, and were in fact (which is now generally allowed) the Aborigines of Europe.

NOTE LXXXVII.

Vergobretus.—On the testimony of Cæsar, (lib. 1. cap. 16.) *Liscus* was chief magistrate or *Vergobret* of the *Ædui*. This *Vergobret* was elected annually, and had the power of life and death over his own nation. Divitiacus was at the same time Archdruid. The true etymon of this word is *Fear-go-Bhraith*, or according to the Irish dialect, *Fer-go-Breth*, i. e. “the man for judgment.” The Indian *Brahmin*, (Latinized *Brathmanni*, or *Brachmanni*) is a name of the very same import. In the Sanscrit language, *Brath* signifies judgment and *man*, a man. *Brathman*, or *Brachman* or *Brahmin*, (for they are all the same) literally signifies the *judgment man*, or *man for judgment*.

Mr. Pinkerton has been kind enough to favour us with a Gothic etymology of *Vergobret*, but has prefaced it with a grave, formal, deliberate falsehood. “*Vergobret*, (says he, vol. 1. p. 286.) the name of a magistrate among the German Gauls, as *Cæsar* tells us.” Now Cæsar tells no such thing, but the very reverse. Mr. Pinkerton has indeed, contrary to Cæsar’s obvious meaning, laid hold of the *Belgae*, as German Gauls, but, except in this instance, has laid no claim to the *Celtae*, the inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*, or *Lugdunensis*. The *Edui* were a *gens* or *tribe* of the Celts, and inhabitants of *Celtic Gaul*. Cæsar uniformly places them in this district, and *Pliny*, (lib. 4. cap. 18.) is as express to the point as words can make it. He, as well as Cæsar, places the *Carnutes*, (in whose territories the Druids annually met,) in the same district. Cæsar says the Germans had no Druids, yet, on the testimony of Cicero, Divitiacus, cotemporary with *Liscus* the *Vergobret* of the *Ædui*, was himself an *Æduan*, and an *Archdruid*. The *Æduan* nobility were, on the motion of Cæsar himself, (Tacit. Annal. lib. 11. cap. 7.) admitted to the honourable privilege of Roman senators. This distinction was the more flattering, because though the application was general, from the whole of *Gallia Comata*, which included *Belgic*, *Celtic*, and *Aquitanian Gaul*, the *Edui* alone obtained this signal honour. The only *Vergobret*, men-

tioned by Cæsar is *Liscus*, the chief magistrate of the *Ædui*, who, on the testimony of all authors, antient and modern, (not excepting Pinkarton himself,) were *Celts proper*. The man who can thus deliberately violate truth, insult common sense, and contradict himself, as well as all authors who have mentioned the *Ædui*, deserves pity rather than reprehension.

Vergobretus, he derives from *Vergen*, to render justice, and *Obrest*, first or chief. *Virgin-Abreast*, (*Virgo Obversata*) would have been fully as much to the purpose. *Vercingetorix*, and *Veremund*, he derives from the Anglo-Belgic *Wer*, a man. The Roman *Vir sine gutture* (a man without a throat,) and *Vir mundus*, (a well-dressed man,) would have been sterling in comparison of this. He derives *Galcacus*, from the Gothic *Galisan*, to collect. Strange! passing strange! that he did not derive it from the Greek *Galaxy*, or make it an abbreviation of *Gilligacus*. The *Grampian Hills*, (*Mons Grampius* of Tacitus,) he derives from the Danish *Gram*, a warrior. Considering the bleak heathy appearance of these hills, our vulgar phrase, *Grim-Puss*, (a black cat,) would have been infinitely more appropriate. *Rins*, a range of hills in Galloway, he supposes, are derived from the *runes*, a sort of rude alphabet used in Denmark so late as the 12th century. They are commonly called the *Helsing runes*. This is the very *ne plus ultra* of etymology, for the *Gallovidian hills*, certainly bear an unequivocal resemblance to the *Runic alphabet*. He derives *Alpin* from *Alp*, a devil. This is a stroke of admirable retaliation, on *Alpin*, for the signal defeat he gave Pinkarton's favourite *Picts* at *Restennet*. It was impossible he could do less, than dubb him a devil.

Having given the reader a short specimen of immaculate Pinkartonian etymology, I shall next give a list of Gothic foreign names, which he considers as synonymous with, or bearing a strong affinity to names in Scotland. *Mios* and *Mouse*; *Hoop* and *Hope*; *Struer* and *Anstruther*; *Fariltosta* and *Fairntosh*; *Gamel* and *Campbell*; *Galstede* and *Gala*; *Ellum* and *Elvon-foot*; *Melderup* and *Meldrum*; *Jesterup* and *Yester*; *Kulundt* and *Callendar*; *Wedelspang* and *Weddel*; *Dallroth* and *Rothsay*;

Alver and *Alva*; *Melosa* and *Melrose*; *Gillberg* and *Gilchrist*; *Ales* and *Hailes*; *Falkenaw* and *Falkirk*; *Coldenkirke* and *Cowdenknows*, &c. &c. &c. The reader will find these synonimes and etymologies, with many more of the same precious and immaculate description, vol. 1. p. 153—154—286—287—288, &c.

A man who has got this *Gothic mania* into his head, has certainly reached the very last stage of etymological madness. The affinity only consists in three or four initial, medial, or final letters, and on the principle here laid down by him, he might with equal facility and propriety trace the strongest affinity betwixt *Hamilcar* and *Hamilton*; *Carthage* and *Carlaverock*; *Achaia* and *Auchterarder*; *Pentecost* and *Penland*; *Abarimon* and *Aberlemno*; *Carnaim* and *Carnmanairn*; *Pannonia* and *Pananach*; *Balaena* and *Balantrae*; *Quatour-Mille* and *Carmylie*; *Camby-ses* and *Cambuslong*; *Aro* and *Yarrow*; *Salve* and *Solway*; *Caput* and *Caputh*; *Pituitaria* and *Pitarrow*; *Chili* and *Killcranky*; *Campania* and *Campbelltown*; *Altona* and *Altgrand*; *Acarmania* and *Aquharny*; *Sanchoniathon* and *Sanquhar*; *Jeroboum* and *Jersey*; *Berosus* and *Bervie*; *Bucolicon* and *Buchan*; *Belisarius* and *Belfast*; *Armageddon* and *Armagh*; *Tanais* and *Tain*; *Tyre* and *Tyrconnel*; *Fores* and *Forres*; *Thurini* and *Turin*; *Delphinus* and *Dalvin*; *Esca* and *Esk*; *Comaron* and *Cameron*; *Kalliroos* (Greek) and *Culross*; *Mugil* and *Macgill*, *Infernus* and *Inverness*; *Goree* and *Gowrie*; *Sincerus* and *Saint Cyrus*, &c.

I have thus presented to the reader a specimen of Mr. Pinkerton's etymologies, and have added a few more constructed on his own model, that mankind may duely estimate its immense merits, and the incalculable benefits to etymological and historic truth, which must necessarily result from it. No wonder that he undervalues Celtic etymology, when his own is (to use his own phrase) so *super-superlative*. Many of our Celtic etymologists are speculative and visionary enough, but Mr. Pinkerton has outdone them all. Where is the Celt, from the first origin of the name down to the present hour, who could have taken so

sublime a flight, as to discover that *Kulundt* was *Callendar*; that *Fariltosta* was *Fairntosh*; that the *Grampian Hills* were *warriors*; that the *Alps* were *devils*, and that the *hills of Gallo-way* were *runic letters*.

But his treatment of the Celts, and of Celtic etymology has no parallel, and cannot be justified on the score of common decency, or even of avowed hostility. I hope the reader will excuse me for laying before him a few specimens. *Celtic etymology is indeed the peculiar madness of this superficial age.* Vol. 1. p. 138. *We dream that these Celtic names just fit the persons, places, &c. but never dream that three thousand others would all fit as well; and that a cap and bells would fit still better.* Vol. 1. p. 138 & 139. *Read Swift, good Celtic etymologists, read Swift.* Ibid. p. 139. *Such etymology is therefore always folly, but Celtic etymology is sheer madness.* Ibid. *These Irish etymologies are mere second sighted delusions. Swift's mock etymologies of Andromachie from Andrew Mackie, &c. are rational in comparison of them.* Vol. 1. p. 157. *Is not this Lunacy? But such are all Celtic etymologies.* Vol. 1. p. 158. *Must not our Celtic neighbours have a remarkable defect in their understandings, and be lost in the frenzy of disordered fancy? What shall we say of those who trust them in points of science, when they cannot even be trusted in points of common sense?* Ibid. p. 158 & 159. *From Diodorus Siculus and others, it is clear that the manners of the Celts perfectly resembled those of the Hottentots.* Append. to vol. 2. p. 68. *What their own mythology was, we know not, but it in all probability resembled that of the Hottentots, or others of the rudest savages, as the Celts antiently were, and are little better at present, being incapable of any progress in society.* Ibidem. *For he, (M. Pelloutier), was so ignorant as to take the Celts and Scythae for one people, in spite of all the antients who mark them as literally toto cælo different, and in spite of our positive knowledge here in Britain, who know the Celts to be mere radical savages, not yet advanced even to a state of barbarism, and if any foreigner doubts this, he has only to step into the Celtic part of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland, and look at them, for they are just*

as they were, incapable of industry or civilization, even after half their blood is Gothic, and remain as marked by the antients, fond of lies, and enemies of truth.—Ibidem & p. 69. Geoffrey of Monmouth, most of the Irish historians, and the Highland Bards and Senachies of Scotland, shew that falsehood is the natural product of the Celtic mind, and the case is the same to this day. No reprobation can be too severe for such frontless impostors; and to say that a writer is a Celt, is to say that he is a stranger to truth, modesty, and morality.—Ibidem. If towns were built for them they would not inhabit them.—If peopled with Highlanders, they will be in ruins in half a century.—Had all these Celtic cattle emigrated five centuries ago, how happy had it been for the country! All we can do is to plant colonies among them; and by this, and encouraging their emigration, to get rid of the breed.—Vol. 1. p. 341.

From these strictures the reader will see that Mr. Pinkarton is decidedly hostile to whatever bears the name of *Celt*, and nothing will satisfy him but their utter extermination. He must, no doubt, be sensible that his Gothic system can never prevail, so long as there is one Celt left in the world to advocate the cause of truth, reason, or common sense. I have already shewn that if Celtic etymology is madness, Pinkartonian etymology is *super-superlative* madness. As a historian his powers are equally colossal and gigantic. He seats his beloved Goths on the throne of Nineveh exactly 344 years after the creation of the world. Can Celtic madness produce any parallel to this? He is indeed the very *Don Quixotte* of history. What a pity that no coadjutor, no faithful *Sancho*, was found to second his *Quiro-tic* efforts. All historians who have preceded, or followed him, have studiously shunned the Pinkartonian path. But as I will immediately have occasion to advert to his merits as a historian, I shall not enlarge farther at present.

DISSERTATION

On the Antiquity of the Use of Letters among the Celts in general, and the Irish in particular; with some Remarks on the Number and Antiquity of the Irish Manuscripts.

THAT the Celts were the Aborigines of Europe, is a point unquestioned, and unquestionable, and it must hence also follow that their language was the Aboriginal one. To both these points, Mr. Pinkerton, their grand antagonist, has fully acceded. At what period they passed from Asia to Europe, can admit of no certain determination. The period when they became acquainted with letters is equally uncertain. But if we may lay any stress on the affinity of their mythology, their deities, their religious rites, and peculiar customs, to those of Chaldea, Phœnicia, and Egypt, we have reason to conclude, that they were sooner acquainted with the use of letters than is generally allowed.

The history of *Abaris*, the Hyperborean priest of the sun, is too well established to admit of any doubt. About seven centuries prior to our æra, he wrote several treatises on different subjects. He spoke Greek as perfectly and as fluently as Pythagoras himself; nor does he appear, from the testimony of the Greeks themselves, to have been in any respect inferior to that great philosopher. Tacitus, (*de Morib. Germ. c. 6.*) informs us that the Germans, man and woman, were equally ignorant of the use of letters. Pinkerton himself, (vol. 2. p. 19) admits that the Germans, Scandinavians, Polanders, and Russians, were not acquainted with letters till the 9th century. It is well known that the antient Greeks gave the name of *Hyperboreans* to all

the nations situated without, and to the north of the straits of Gibraltar. Abaris might thus have been an inhabitant of the sea-coast of Spain, of Gaul, of Germany, of Scandinavia, of Poland, of Russia, of Great Britain, or of Ireland. But as Tacitus and Pinkerton betwixt them, have proved the utter ignorance of all the Hyperborean nations, except the Celts, up to the 9th century, it must follow that *Abaris* was a Celt. It is therefore *historic truth*, that *Abaris*, a priest of the sun, and a Celt, spoke Greek elegantly, was a profound philosopher, and wrote several treatises, 1500 hundred years before the Germans, Scandinavians, Polanders, and Russians, had learned the alphabet. It is, therefore, no wonder that Pinkerton has not once condescended to mention the name of this illustrious Celtic philosopher and Druid.

The Celts seem, from the most authentic evidence, to have been well acquainted with the Greek language. Cæsar says, (lib. 1. cap. 29.) *In Castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt literis Graecis confectae, et ad Caesarem perlatae quibus in tabulis ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes, mulieresque. i. e.* "Tables were found in the camp of the Helvetii, written in Greek characters, or in the Greek language (for the words *Graecis literis*, is a very equivocal phrase, and may admit of either signification,) and brought to Caesar, in which had been made out a particular account of all those able to bear arms who had set out from home, and also of the children, old men, and women, separately." This is another clear proof that the Celts at least understood the Greek characters, and perhaps the language itself. The Helvetii had undertaken a great and hazardous enterprize, and wished to conceal the extent of the loss, whatever it might be, from the vulgar. Had these registers been made out in Celtic, they might have fallen into the hands of improper persons, and been perused by them; but when written in Greek characters or the Greek language, they were intelligible only to the higher ranks. I believe no instance can be condescended on, where a man, or any number of men, can read and

write a foreign language, without being able, in some measure, to read and write their own. At any rate this passage is a clear proof that the Celts could read, write, and calculate, for these registers reached as far as 368,000. If Pinkerton will not allow the Celts an alphabet of their own, he cannot, at least deny that 1850 years ago, they used the Greek one.

The same author, (lib. 6. cap. 14.) gives us a passage still more explicit, and more to the point in question. *Neque fas esse existimant ea literis mandare, quum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis, privatisque rationibus, (Graecis) literis, utantur.* i. e. "Neither do they think it lawful to commit these things to writing, (letters) when commonly in their other affairs, and in their public and private accounts, they make use of (*Greek*) letters." It is easy here to see that the word *Graecis* is the interpolation of some ignorant transcriber, who, finding it inserted by Caesar, (lib. 1. cap. 29.) imagined it had been here omitted by mistake. He has, however, inserted it within a parenthesis, so that we are at liberty to retain or reject it. In the former passage, Caesar merely relates a detached action of the Helvetii on a great and critical emergency, whereas in the present case he is detailing the ordinary conduct, and wary policy of the Druids. Though it is as clear as the sun that *Graecis* must be exploded, still I have no objection to take the passage as it is. It is not for this or that particular alphabet that I am contending, but only for the antiquity of the use of letters among the Celts. This passage is another incontrovertible proof, that the Druids committed to writing ordinary occurrences, as well as their public and private accounts. It was only to their *mysteries* that the prohibitory law extended. Indeed, were all other evidence wanting, the very words *fas non habebant* (they had a law against it) would clearly establish the fact; for there can be neither law, restriction, nor prohibition against a thing totally unknown. Can any man, in the face of such irresistible evidence, deny, that the Celts had manuscripts at least as early as the time of Caesar?

The next instance I adduce is from Toland, (p. 168) where

he gives us a long quotation from Lucian. This the reader is desired to peruse with attention. He will here find another *Abaris* equally acquainted with Grecian history and mythology, and equally skilled in the Greek language. Lucian calls him a *philosopher*, a name of the same import with the Celtic *Druid*. Lucian was, on this occasion, present on the spot, and conversed with the Gaelic philosopher face to face, so that it is impossible he could be mistaken. This direct and collateral instance, were there any doubt of Abaris' being a Celt, would sufficiently clear it up. Let Mr. Pinkerton, or his abettors, condescend on any German or Scandinavian equally learned, six centuries after the time of Lucian, and I will surrender them both. Can any rational being imagine that these Celts, who were such admirable adepts in the Greek language, had not learned the alphabet of their own.

Tacitus, (de Morib. Germ. cap. 1.) gives a traditionary account of Ulysses having penetrated into Germany, and built the city *Asciburgium*, which he Graecizes *Askipyrgion*, i. e. "the black tower," and concludes thus, *Monumentaue et tumulos quosdam Graecis literis inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Rhaetiaeque adhuc extare*. i. e. "There are some monuments and sepulchres, with Greek inscriptions, still remaining on the confines of Germany and Rhaetia." Tacitus having narrated this tradition, adds, "That he intends to adduce no arguments either to confirm or refute it, but that every one may credit or discredit it, as he thinks proper." Tacitus hesitates to ascribe these antiquities and Greek inscriptions, (as well he may) to Ulysses, and certainly nobody will ascribe them to the Germans, then and for seven centuries afterwards totally illiterate. I shall not even ascribe them to the Celts, though from the circumstances of their having been the *Aborigines* of Germany, and from a very remote period well acquainted with the Greek language, they have the fairest claim to them. The Celtic claim to the early use of letters stands on firm and stable ground. It needs no hypothetical aid to support it, and I am determined to adduce none.

But, in another point of view, this passage is direct to our purpose. Tacitus was *Procurator* of Gaul, and resided there; nor is there the slightest vestige of evidence of his having visited Germany at all. He must therefore have derived this information from some quarter or other. The Germans, (on his own evidence then totally illiterate, and on the evidence of their strenuous advocate Pinkerton, equally so till the 9th century,) could not have read the *Odyssey*, were incapable of distinguishing Greek characters from those of any other nation, and certainly still more incapable to trace the affinity of the German *Asciburgium* to the Greek *Askipyrgion*. This is the only etymology which Tacitus has hazarded in his whole treatise on Germany, and is so forced that it could never have occurred to him without being pointed out. Here, therefore, as in the case of Abaris, we have no alternative, but must ascribe the account given to Tacitus of Ulysses, and of these antient monuments, and Greek inscriptions, to the Gauls, who, on the clearest evidence, were well acquainted with the Greek alphabet, language, history, and mythology.

I am well aware, that there are many who are willing to grant that the Druids were early acquainted with the use of letters, but then they contend that this noble art was exclusively confined to themselves. Even this compromise cannot be acceded to. Cæsar's words to the contrary are clear and decisive. The reasons he assigns, (lib. 6. cap. 14.) for the Druids not committing their tenets to writing, are these, *Id mihi duabas de causis instituisse videntur, quod neque in vulgum disciplinam offerri velint neque eos, qui discant, literis confisos, minus memoriæ studere*, i. e. "They (the Druids) appear to me to have enacted this law for two reasons, because they neither wished their doctrines to be made known to the vulgar, nor their pupils trusting to the aid of letters, to pay less attention to the cultivation of their memory." Had Cæsar, (and where is the man who had equal access to know?) considered the lower ranks in Gaul as unacquainted with letters, would he have acted so inconsistently as to tell us, that the Druids did not commit their doctrines to writ-

ting, lest the vulgar should read them. It is here worthy of remark, that in this part of the sentence, the word *Graecis* does not occur, nor in the sentence immediately following, where Caesar uses the word *litteris* in the same general sense. Indeed, throughout the whole of this chapter, it is evident that by the word *litteris*, Caesar does not mean the alphabet at all, but the art of writing in general.

But as the anticeltic writers have made a great handle of this word *Graecis*, to prove that the Celts were only acquainted with the Greek alphabet, and had none of their own, I shall endeavour to probe the matter to the bottom. Let us then retain, instead of exploding this word, and it must follow, 1. That the Druidic prohibition of committing their tenets to writing extended only to the Greek language. 2. That wherever the word *litteris* occurs in this chapter, (it occurs four times) it must mean the Greek alphabet. 3. That the Greek language was well known to the vulgar in Gaul, which induced the Druids to interdict this language in particular, and no other.

But so far from the Greek language being generally known in Gaul, we have the very best authority to the contrary. Cæsar, (lib. 1. cap. 19) gives us an account of an interview with Divitiacus, where *the daily interpreters* were removed, and the conversation carried on betwixt them by means of Caius Valerius Proculus. Divitiacus was a very eminent man, and, besides, the Archdruid of all Gaul. Had he been acquainted with the Greek language, no interpreter betwixt him and Caesar would have been necessary; and it would certainly be absurd, in the extreme, to ascribe to the vulgar a knowledge of the Greek language, which even their Archdruid did not possess. The Greek language was not therefore the language of the vulgar in Gaul, and consequently the Druidic prohibition did not extend to it. Indeed, to whatever hand we turn ourselves, (if the word *Graecis* is retained) we are involved in a *Chaos* of nonsense, absurdity, and contradiction. Explode it, and all is clear and consistent.

The result of the whole is, that Caesar is not here speaking of

any particular language or alphabet, but merely of the art of writing in general. The Druidic precaution must also be interpreted in the same liberal and indefinite manner. Their prohibition to commit their tenets to writing did not point to this or that particular language, but was ultimate and conclusive against committing them to writing in any language whatever. On the testimony of *Lucian* and *Caesar*, the Greek language was known in Gaul, but that knowledge appears to have been limited to a few illustrious individuals, otherwise he would not have needed an interpreter, when speaking to Divitiacus. That this was the case is clear from *Caesar*, (*lib. 5. cap. 48*) who says, *Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallis magnis praemiis persuadet, uti ad Ciceronem epistolam deferat. Hanc Graecis conscriptam literis mittit; ne intercepta epistola, nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur.* i. e. "Then he persuades one of the Gallic horsemen, by great rewards, to carry a letter to Cicero. He sends this letter written in the Greek language, lest being intercepted, our designs might be known by the enemy." *Tabulae confectae Graecis literis*, and *Epistola conscripta Graecis literis*, are phrases so much the same, that it is evident the registers of the Helvetii mentioned by *Caesar*, (*lib. 1. cap. 29.*) were written in the Greek language, and not merely in the Greek characters. But whatever knowledge the Celts in Gaul had of the Greek language, it is evident they were much better acquainted with the Roman language, else *Caesar* would not have used the Greek language as a preferable disguise. Had the Celts been totally illiterate, no precaution was necessary, nor would there have been the least risque of their reading *Caesar's* letter. Hence it is clearly established on the most unexceptionable evidence of *Caesar*, who could not possibly be mistaken, that the Gauls understood both the Greek and Roman languages, and infallibly the respective alphabets of both these languages. Can any man, in his senses, then imagine, that when they were acquainted with both these alphabets, they could not form one to themselves? I consider it therefore indubitable that the Celts in Gaul, as early as the time of *Caesar* were acquainted with the art of wri-

ting, and had an alphabet of their own. Having satisfactorily (I hope) established this point, I shall next turn my attention to the Celts in Great Britain.

To establish the antiquity of the use of letters in Britain, it might be deemed sufficient to point out its early commercial intercourse with Greece and Phœnicia, in both which countries, the art of writing was well known. Commercial nations have, of all others, been soonest acquainted with this art. The reason is obvious; for commerce can be carried to no great extent without it. The inhabitants of Gaul and Britain were descended of the same common stock, they spoke the same language, and had the same civil and religious institutions; their intercourse was easy and frequent, and hence any art or science known in the one country could not be long unknown in the other. Fortunately we have no occasion to rest this matter on hypothetical or presumptive evidence. Cæsar (lib. 6. cap. 13.) puts it beyond all doubt, when he tells us—*Disciplina in Britannia reperiata, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur; et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur*—i. e. “The discipline (of the Druids) is supposed to have been invented in Britain, and thence transferred into Gaul; and even at the present day, they who wish to know this discipline more perfectly, for the most part resort to Britain for the purpose of studying it.” By *disciplina* is clearly meant the whole *learning* or *philosophy* of the Druids. We thus see that the Druids in Gaul, so far from being in any respect superior to those in Britain, were in fact their pupils; and hence it must follow, that whatever degree of learning was known in Gaul, had been carried to a higher pitch of perfection in Britain. We have already seen that the use of letters was, in Cæsar’s time, well known in Gaul. We have also seen that the Britons were the preceptors of the Gauls; and if it were possible to imagine that the teacher was more ignorant than the scholar, or that the Druids in Britain were unacquainted with the use of letters, still it is certain that this noble art would have been speedily communicated by one or other of the numerous

Gallic students, who resorted to Britain for the purpose of prosecuting their studies to perfection. *Tacitus*, in his *Life of Agricola*, (*cap. 7. ad finem*) gives us a very remarkable passage nearly to the same effect. *Hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domos exstruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes, ita honoris aemulatio, pro necessitate erat. Ita vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent*—i. e. “He exhorted them privately; he assisted them publicly to build temples, courts of justice, and houses, by praising the industrious, and punishing the indolent, and hence necessarily arose an emulation for honour. He also instructed the sons of the nobility to that degree in the liberal arts, and made them so far outstrip the Gauls in their studies, that they who lately despised the Roman language, were now in raptures with its eloquence.” Prior to this period, the Druids in Britain had been persecuted with the most relentless rigour. The inhabitants, by repeated injuries, had been exasperated almost even to madness and desperation. Agricola took a different course, and endeavoured to appease them by conciliatory measures. He protected their property, and assisted them to rebuild their houses, and religious and judicial circles (*Templa et fora*) which had been demolished. He further instructed the sons of the nobility in the liberal arts, and made them such adepts in the Latin language, that they highly relished its beauties and elegance. Will even Pinkerton himself say that these noble youths were unacquainted with the use of letters? Will he, in the face of so direct a testimony, say that the Celts had no temples? Will he deny the distinction I have made of the Druidical circles into (*Templa et fora*) temples and courts of justice, when he sees this distinction sanctioned by Tacitus himself? Will he still insist that the Britons were mere illiterate savages, when Tacitus expressly says—*ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre*—i. e. “He made the genius of the Britons excel the studies of the Gauls?” The evidence of Tacitus is in this instance of primary weight, as he was pro-

curator of Gaul, and had an opportunity of knowing the studies of the Gauls; and Agricola, his father-in-law, had an equal opportunity of knowing the studies of his noble pupils in Britain. Before Mr. Pinkerton can fix the charge of ignorance of letters on the Celts, he must—1mo, Disprove the direct testimony of Cæsar;—2do, He must prove that the Gauls were such fools, from time immemorial, as to resort to Britain to perfect their studies, under a race of men much more ignorant and illiterate than themselves;—3tio, That the noble pupils of Agricola learned to read the Roman language, and admired its beauties and elegance, without knowing one single letter of the alphabet of that, or any other language;—4to, That reading and writing are not included in the number of the *Liberal Arts*, and consequently were not imparted to Agricola's pupils.

It deserves particular notice, that Agricola resided in Britain only about seven years, and the words of Tacitus seem to imply, that the sons of the nobility completed their education in the second year. In the third year Agricola penetrated as far as the Tay. But should we allow the whole seven years, the time would have been totally inadequate, had Agricola had mere illiterate savages to contend with. On the contrary he appears to have found a well prepared, grateful and productive soil, and this can only be imputed to the Druids, who made the education of the higher ranks their peculiar study and province. We have already seen (on the testimony of Cæsar), that in his time the Gauls had made some progress in the Greek, and still more in the Roman language. The *old Gaul* mentioned by Lucian was profoundly skilled in the Greek language. It is not improbable, from their intercourse with the Romans, that the higher ranks in Britain had, by this time, paid some attention to the Roman language. Indeed the words of Tacitus imply as much—*qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant*—i. e. “who lately rejected the Roman language,” for it is well known that a man can neither approbate nor reprobate a language of which he is totally ignorant. When Tacitus was expressly treating on the subject of British education, had the Britains been ignorant of

letters, he would certainly have told us, as he does of the Germans (*De Morib. Germ. cap. 6.*)—*Literarum secreta viri pariter, ac foeminae ignorant*—i. e. “Men and women are equally ignorant of the secret of letters.” Were we thus to pervade the ancient classics, numerous passages to the same effect might be found; but I shall content myself with mentioning the *Turdetani*, the oldest inhabitants of Spain, who, on the testimony of Strabo, (lib. 3.) had laws written in verse, a thousand years before his time. These *Turdetani* were clearly Celts, and placed in the Celtic district on the *Baetis* or *Guadalquivir*. The very river seems to have taken its name from the Celtic settlement on its banks; for *Guadalquivir* (in the Gaelic language *Gaoidhal Cuibhar*) literally signifies the *Celtic portion or territory*. The *Turdetani*, and their neighbours the *Turduli*, are mentioned by Ptolemy, lib. 2. cap. 5. The *Turduli* are mentioned by Varro, lib. 2. cap. 10. and by Pliny, lib. 3. cap. 1.; but the surest proof that these *Turditani* were Celts is, that Mr. Pinkerton has not claimed them as Goths, nor indeed once mentioned them, though he has given us a very full account of the *Celts*, or what he calls the *German Celts* in Spain. Had they borne any affinity to his favourite Goths, he would have traced them through every chink and crevice from *Nootka Sound* to *Nova Zembla*.

When this gentleman has any favourite point to drive, he is a most assiduous champion; and there is no artifice, however mean, to which he will not stoop. When wishing to establish that the inhabitants of the east of England were Germans, he quotes a passage from Tacitus (*Vit. Agric. cap. 4.*), but leaves out the most material part of the whole.—See vol. 1. p. 184. Sensible that he would be detected, he has inserted part of the passage omitted, in his list of *errata*; but instead of a translation of it, gives us the following comment. *He (Tacitus) is speaking of the Belgic Gauls, and the Belgæ in Britain; among the former he lived; and the latter were the only Britons he could know from proximity.*—Introduc. to vol 1. p. 84. I shall here insert the passage, and let Tacitus speak for himself. *In univ-
ersum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est.*

Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione. Sermo haud multum diversus. In deprecandis periculis eadem audacia, et ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido; plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in Bellis floruisse accepimus. Mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute ac pariter libertate, quod Britannorum olim victis evenit; ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt— i. e. “On the whole, to an attentive observer, it will appear credible that the Gauls occupied the land (of Britain) nearest to them. You can discover their sacred rites by the similarity of their superstitions. Their language is nearly the same. They have the same boldness in provoking dangers, and when they have found them, the same cowardice in running away from them; but the Britons shew more courage, because long peace has not as yet rendered them effeminate. For we have also heard that the Gauls flourished in war. Immediately indolence entered with ease, (peace) their bravery being lost along with their liberty. The very same thing happened to that part of the Britons formerly conquered; the rest remain such as the Gauls were.”

Now I appeal to any man of common sense, and common honesty, whether Tacitus mentions the Belgae, or even so much as alludes to them. It would, indeed, have been very inconvenient for Mr. Pinkerton to have treated this passage honestly. It contains every characteristic trait of the Celts in Gaul, and every part of it is corroborated by Caesar. We have, 1. *Their sacred rites and superstitions.* Caesar, (lib. 6. cap. 16.) says, *Natio omnis Gallorum est admodum dedita religionibus.* i. e. “The whole nation of the Gauls is greatly addicted to religious rites.” Pinkerton renders this, one third of Gaul. Caesar, (lib. 6. cap. 21.) says of the Germans, *Nam neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis praesint, neque sacrificiis student.* i. e. “For the Germans neither have Druids who preside in religious matters, nor do they offer sacrifices at all.” Hence it is clear that the sacred rites and superstitions found in Britain by Tacitus, will not apply to the Belgae, had they been

Germans. 2. *We have the similarity of the language of the Britons to that of the Gauls.* This is, of all other marks, the most unequivocal, and is the more important because Tacitus makes it the language of the whole island. He appears to have been at great pains to investigate every trait of distinction among the inhabitants, but found no other except the *red hair* and *large limbs* of the *Caledonians* (Picts), and the *curled hair* and *painted countenances*, of the *Silures*, (Welch). Would he have mentioned such equivocal marks of discrimination, and omitted that of language, when expressly treating of the language of Britain, had any difference existed? Impossible. 3. *The forwardness of the Britons to provoke dangers, and their pusillanimity in repelling them.* This propensity of the Gauls is admirably marked by Caesar, (lib. 3. cap. 19.) in these words. *Nam ut ad Bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.* i. e. "For as the minds of the Gauls are eager and forward to undertake war, so they are timid, and have very little fortitude to endure calamities." 4. *The former bravery of the Gauls.* This is mentioned by Cæsar, (lib. 6. cap. 24.) *Ac fuit antea tempus quum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem, agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent, &c.* i. e. "And there formerly was a time when the Gauls excelled the Germans in bravery, made war on them of their own accord, and on account of the multitude of men, and want of land, sent colonies across the Rhine." The only circumstance which Cæsar omits, is the language of the Britons, nor is this any matter of surprise. Having stated that the inhabitants of the east coast of Britain were *Belgae* from Gaul, it was unnecessary to acquaint us that they brought the Gallic language along with them; nor is it usual, (as far as I know) for a historian to say that a nation speaks its own language, for this very obvious reason, that it cannot rationally be supposed to speak any other. Fortunately Tacitus, (in whose time Britain was well known, from the isle of Anglesey to the Grampians,) puts this matter beyond a doubt, when he calls the Bri-

tish language, *sermo haud multum diversus*, i. e. "a language nearly resembling the *Gallic*. But, (says Mr. Pinkarton), he is here speaking of the Belgic Gauls, and the Belgæ in Britain, and means the German language. Be it so. But I suppose it will be admitted Tacitus is the best judge of his own meaning. Speaking of the *Æsty*, a German nation, (*De Morib. Germ. cap. 15. ad initium*), he says, *Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris littore Æstyorum gentes alluuntur; quibus ritus habitusque suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior*. i. e. "The tribes of the *Æsty* are next washed on the right hand shore of the Suevian sea; they have the religious rites and dress of the *Suevi*, but their language approaches nearer to the *Britannic*. Tacitus here certainly means to say, that the *Æstii* spoke the *Britannic* language, and not the *German*; and hence it must also follow that the *Britannic* language was not the *German*. Had there been different languages in Britain, Tacitus would not have used the general term *Britannic language*, (a term commensurate to the island itself), to express the language of the *Æsty*. This uniformity of language, throughout the whole extent of the island, clearly established by Tacitus, and contradicted by no Roman author whatever, settles the important point, that the Belgæ were Celts—that they spoke the Celtic language—and that the inhabitants of Britain, *in toto* (in Tacitus' time), were of the same race, and spoke the same language. Mr. Pinkarton, taking his leave of Tacitus, has a most *tragi-comic* encounter with *Bede*, *Jornandes*, *Nennius*, *Samuel*, &c. hugging one, and buffeting another, as they happen to favour, or thwart his purpose; but the whole evidence he elicits from this arduous contest, is not worth a penny. When Tacitus had once dropt the hint, that the Caledonians might perhaps be Germans, it was easy for these fabulous writers, to contrive a method of ferrying them over from Germany. But here too, they commit an egregious mistake in bringing them over in a few Roman ships of war, *longis navibus non multis*. Every one knows that the Romans, and no nation else denominated their ships of war, *Longæ naves*. This blunder is the more unpardonable, because Tacitus, speaking of

the *Suiones*, (De Morib. Germ. cap. 14) gives us a description of ships very different. *Forma navium eo differt, quod utrumque prorae paratam semper appulsui frontem agit; nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordine lateribus adjungunt. Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium*, i. e. "The form of their ships differ from ours in this respect, that a prow at each end renders landing always easy, nor are they furnished with sails, nor do they fix the oars in rows on their sides. The oars are loose, (not fastened to the vessel), as is the case in some rivers, and can be shifted to either side, as occasion requires." Mr. Pinkerton is here at his old tricks. He does not insert this passage in the original, but gives us the following interested and uncandid translation of it. *The form of the ships differ from ours, because a prow at either end makes landing always easy. They have no sails, nor are the oars ranged in order on the side. The vessel is of free construction, as used in some rivers, and may be steered to whatever point is necessary*, (v. 1. p. 204). By *Solutum remigium*, is clearly meant that the *Suiones* did not fasten their oars to the ships, but Mr. Pinkerton says it means a *free built vessel*, without considering, that *Solutum*, whenever applied to a ship, means *unmoored*. *Solvere navem* to unmoor a ship, is a phrase so well known that it needs no comment. *Remigium* never signifies a vessel, but the act of rowing, *ipsa agitatio remorum*, and in many instances, (as here) the oar itself. By this artifice Mr. Pinkerton has contrived to convert Tacitus' censure of their unskilful mode of rowing, into a panegyric on the structure of their ships. I hope the reader will indulge me in making a few remarks on this famous *Scandinavian navy*.

1. They were double prowed, for the greater facility in landing, and hence we may infer that they were not calculated for any thing beyond their narrow creeks and rivers. Had they been acquainted with the helm, the double prow to land the ship, without turning, was unnecessary, and without the helm no distant voyage could be undertaken. 2. They had no sails, another obstacle to sailing at any considerable distance. 3. The

oars were disposed in no regular and judicious manner, to facilitate either the celerity, or proper management of the vessel. 4to, The oars, as in boats employed on rivers, were not fastened to the vessel, and apt, in the least storm, to be washen overboard and lost. This was the state of the Scandinavian navy when Tacitus wrote in the beginning of the second century. Four centuries earlier, the date assigned for the migration of the Picts from Scandinavia to Scotland, this navy must have been still in a worse state. Yet these wretched boats, with a double prow, without sails, without a regular disposition of the oars, managed in the most unskilful manner, and in all probability without a helm, have been magnified by the writers of the middle ages into *huge, large ships, longae naves*.

But the true point of inquiry is, how these late writers knew an event of which no tradition existed in the time of Cæsar and Tacitus, who wrote seven or eight centuries before them. Had any tradition of this migration existed, Tacitus would not have rested the Pictish or Caledonian claim to a Germanic origin, on their red hair. Cæsar and Tacitus are the fathers of British history. It is astonishing to consider with what avidity the slightest hint dropt by them has been grasped at, and improved on. Cæsar mentions *Vergobretus* as the name of the chief magistrate of the Ædui. The hint is instantly taken, and *Casivellaunus* is dubbed *Vergobret* of the South Britons, *Galgacus* of the Caledonians; and, which is still more ridiculous, Mr. Pinkarton has put in his claim to *Vergobret* in behalf of his favourite Goths. Human folly is always the same. But the truth is, that there is no evidence whatever of a Pictish migration from Scythia, Germany, or Scandinavia. The conjecture of Tacitus, that the Caledonians might be Germans from *the size of their limbs*, and their *red hair*, is the origin of the whole fable. Here it originated; and after having been twisted about and about in every direction, from the time of Bede down to the present day, it always reverts to the same point, and remains exactly as Tacitus left it. The *red hair* of the Caledonians, on which Pinkarton lays so much stress, is a criterion extremely equivocal. The

very same criterion would prove them Egyptians. *Diodorus Siculus* (lib. 1. p. 99.) says, *it was an established custom of the Egyptians to sacrifice red haired men at the tomb of Osyris.*

But though we should grant, contrary to all probability, that the Picts or Caledonians were a colony from Germany or Scandinavia about three centuries prior to our æra, still we are involved in the same difficulty; for the question naturally arises, whether this colony were Celts or Germans? That the Germans made great encroachments on the Celts on the Continent, and wrested the greater part of their territory from them, is on all hands allowed. Still, even in Germany, as late as the time of Cæsar and Tacitus, the Celts were not extirpated. We find the *Tectosages*, the *Finni*, the *Æstyi*, the *Cimbri*, and the *Gothini*, indisputably Celtic nations, still in Germany. Now can it reasonably be supposed that the Germans would rather emigrate themselves, than drive out the Celts; or rather is it not self-evident that the Celts, the weaker party, were forced to yield to the overwhelming pressure of the Germans, and to seek new settlements for themselves in Britain. Hence the probability of a Celtic origin for the Picts or Caledonians, must greatly preponderate; and still more so, as there is not the slightest vestige of authentic evidence in the world, that a *German*, or any one of that race, ever set a foot on British or Irish ground before the middle of the fifth century. It would be presumption in me to endeavour to establish the Celtic origin of the Picts or Caledonians. In so doing, I could only repeat the arguments of men infinitely better qualified for the task. That the Picts or Caledonians were of Celtic origin, is established by the respectable authorities of *Camden*, *Lloyd*, *Innes*, *Whitaker*, *Guthrie*, *Gibbon*, *Hume*, &c. &c. &c. I have to apologize to the reader for this long digression. The truth is, that it formed the concluding part of Note 65, and, by some unaccountable oversight, was omitted in its proper place; nor was the mistake discovered till it was too late to rectify it. We shall next turn our attention to the Celts in Ireland.

The antiquity of the use of letters in Ireland has been strenu-

ously maintained, and as strenuously controverted. To do justice to this discussion, would require a volume. *Pinkarton* and *Innes* have, above all others, strained every effort in the negative, and adduced every argument to that effect which ingenuity could invent, or prejudice suggest. By adverting to the arguments of these gentlemen, I will, in some measure, be able to do justice to the subject, and at the same time confine myself within the bounds to which these notes must necessarily be limited. Both these gentlemen owed Mr. Toland a grudge, though on very different grounds. *Pinkarton* was sensible his Gothic system could never stand, till the Celts, and every thing Celtic, were completely annihilated, and hence his inveterate antipathy to Toland, who was not only a Celt, but a strenuous assertor of the antiquity, civilization, and early literature of the Celts. *Innes*, on the other hand, was a Popish clergyman, a staunch Jacobite, and an inflexible advocate for the *divine right of reigning*. This *divine right of kings* was, by Toland and the whigs, (for Toland was a rigid whig) ironically denominated *the divine right of doing wrong*. With men actuated by such discordant principles, where a diversity of opinion was possible, no coincidence was to be expected.

Mr. *Pinkarton* (v. 2. p. 18. & 19.) insists that the Irish have no claim to letters before St. Patrick introduced them, along with christianity, about the year 440. Yet this same gentleman, wishing to fix the authentic history of his favourite *Picts* as early as possible, dates it from the commencement of the reign of *Drust the Great*, in 414, and assigns as a reason for this authenticity, (v. 1. p. 275.) that, in 412, there were *Irish* clergymen who settled in Pictland, and had the use of letters, *and that tradition was then exchanged for authentic history*. If the Irish were unacquainted with letters till St. Patrick introduced them in 440, or (as others say) in 432, it must follow that these Irish clergy who settled in Pictland in 412, must also have been totally illiterate. But Mr. *Pinkarton*, it may be presumed, would not found the authenticity of the history of his *red-haired friends* on a fiction, and hence it is evident, from his own account of the

matter, that the Irish were acquainted with letters at least twenty years before the arrival of St. Patrick. The man who can thus deliberately *deny* and *assert* one and the same thing, as it thwarts or favours his purpose, is certainly very ill qualified for a historian.

Mr. Innes, *with all his foibles*, is a modest and meritorious writer. Though he sometimes *colours hard*, he never absolutely violates truth. Willing to rate *St. Patrick's* merits as high as possible, he makes him the *father of Irish letters*. The first argument he adduces (v. 2. p. 456.) is that the Gaelic (Irish) words *Litir*, a letter—*Leabhar*, a book—*Leagham*, to read—*Scriobham*, to write, &c. are derived from the Roman *Litera*, *Liber*, *Lego*, *Scribo*, &c. and hence infers that *Letters*, *Books*, *Reading* and *Writing*, were borrowed from the Romans, and introduced by St. Patrick. To give this argument its full weight, I shall here add a short synopsis of the *Sanscrit*, *Celtic*, and *Roman* languages.

<i>Celtic.</i>	<i>Sanscrit.</i>	<i>Roman.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Dia	Deva	Deus	God
Aran	Aram	Aratum	Cultivated land
Mathair	Matara	Mater	A mother
Bhrathair	Bhratara	Frater	A brother
Faid	Vadi	Vates	A prophet
Ter, Tir	Dhara	Terra	Land
Uim	Bhumi	Humus	Ground
Sacard	Sacradas	Sacerdos	A priest
Doras	Dwara	Fores	A door
Focal	Vac	Vox, Vocalis *	A word, vowel
Maothadh	Matta	Madidus	Wet, drunk
Maighne	Maha	Magnus	Great
Gein	Janu	Genu	The knee
Mis	Mas	Mensis	A month
Riogh	Raja	Rex	A king
Naoi	Nav	Navis	A ship
Cladh	Clada	Clades	A calamity
Di	Divos	Dies	A day
Son	Swana	Sonus	Sound
Stadh	Sthan	Statio	A station
Bim	Bhim	Timor	Fear
Peann	Parna	Penna	A pen
Meadhon	Madhya	Medium	The middle

<i>Celtic.</i>	<i>Sanscrit.</i>	<i>Roman.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Roth	Ratha	Rota	A wheel
Fem, Femen	Vamini	Fæmina	A woman
Fear, Fir	Vir	Vir	A man
Falla	Vala	Valor	Strength
Read	Rai	Res	A thing
Mein	Mana	Mens	The mind
Nuadh	Nava	Novus	New
Stabul	Sthir	Stabilis	Stable
Ruadh	Rudhir	Ruber	Red
Loc	Loca	Locus	A place
Bhru	Bhru	—	A brow
Lubhd	Lubbda	Lubido	Lust
Tu	Twau	Tu	Thou
Ceal	Cealaś	Cœlum	Heaven
San-Scriobhte	Sanskrita	Sauctum scrip- tum	Holy writ
Aon	Ec	Unus	One
Da	Dwau	Duo	Two
Tri	Traya	Tres	Three
Ceithar	Chatur	Quatuor	Four
Coig	Pancha	Quinque	Five
Sia	Shat	Sex	Six
Seachd	Sapta	Septem	Seven
Ochd	Ashta	Octo	Eight
Noi	Nova	Novem	Nine
Deich	Dasa	Decem	Ten

I am sorry I have been able to procure no other specimen of the Sanscrit language than that contained in the *Edinburgh Review* (1809) of *Wilkins' Sanscrit Grammar*, which specimen was selected by the reviewers with the exclusive view of contrasting it with the Roman language. Even under all these disadvantages it bears a stronger resemblance to the Celtic. The combinations *bh* and *dh*, which so frequently occur in the *Celtic*, are also characteristic features in the orthography of the *Sanscrit*. The present infinitive of Sanscrit verbs ends generally in *m*. In the Celtic the present indicative ends also in *m*. We can trace the same mode of termination in the Latin verbs. Their first supine (which is only another present infinitive) ends always in *m*. That the Romans used antiently to terminate the present indicative in *m*, is sufficiently evident from *inquam* and *sum*, with all its compounds. If Mr. Innes will argue, from the affi-

nity of the Celtic language to the Roman, that the Celts derived their *letters, books, writing, reading, chronology, numbers, and the art of calculating*, from St. Patrick, it must follow from the very same argument, that the *Indian Bramins* also derived the art of *writing, &c.* from St. Patrick, which is impossible.

That the Celtic, Sanscrit, and Roman languages bear the strongest marks of affinity, is self-evident. Mr. Innes (and he has been too generally followed) endeavours to shew that the Celtic has borrowed largely from the Latin. Were we even to grant this *postulatum*, we are only involving ourselves in a new difficulty, for the affinity of the *Sanscrit* to the *Latin* remains still to be accounted for. I flatter myself the boldest speculator will not even venture to insinuate that the Sanscrit has borrowed from the Latin, or *vice versa*. These languages never came in contact. The Celtic cannot, therefore, have derived its affinity to the Sanscrit through the medium of the Roman language. It is, on all hands, allowed that the Sanscrit and Celtic are Asiatic languages, or (in other words) primary dialects of the aboriginal language of Asia. The Roman language has no such early claim. Fortunately for our present purpose, Rome reared its head within the period of authentic history. The Romans were not (like the Celts or Bramins) a colony direct from Asia. They were a few Italian shepherds, and lawless banditti, and could not possibly speak any other language than that of the country which produced them. That the Celtic was the aboriginal language of Europe, is a point unquestioned and unquestionable. It is even sanctioned by Pinkerton himself. The Celtic or Umbrian language was, therefore, the aboriginal language of Italy, and consequently of Rome. The Greek colonies, which, from time to time, settled in Italy prior to the Roman æra, no doubt effected some alteration in the language of Italy; and it is most probable that the *Doric dialect* of the Greek, founded on the *Celtic*, or (in other words) the *Celtic Doricized*, laid the foundation of the Roman language. Hence the affinity of the Celtic, Sanscrit, and Roman languages, can be satisfactorily accounted for. The Celtic and Sanscrit were primary dialects of the abo-

original language of Asia, and the Roman language a secondary dialect of the same, through the medium or intervention of the Celtic. I am well aware that the Greek technical terms have, through the medium of the Roman language, been spread all over Europe, and that a great number of Roman ecclesiastical terms were every where introduced with christianity. But these are easily distinguished. The words which characterize the antiquity, the identity, or the affinity of languages, are those which mark the permanent objects of nature, or the primary wants and relations of mankind, and which must have existed from the very first dawn of social intercourse.

But least it should be imagined that I wish to evade a direct reply to Mr. Innes' argument, I shall here admit, because the words in the Celtic which signify a *letter*, a *book*, &c. bear every mark of identity with the Roman *litera*, *liber*, &c. that St. Patrick introduced *letters*, *books*, &c. into Ireland, and then it must follow that he introduced all things else, whose names bear the same marks of identity. The identity of the following words, (and a thousand more) is manifest. *Ceal*, heaven and *Cælum*—*Ter*, land and *Terra*—*Man*, a hand and *Manus*—*Capat*, a head and *Caput*—*Mathair*, a mother and *Mater*—*Bhrathair*, a brother and *Frater*—*Femen*, a woman and *Fæmina*—*Fir*, a man and *Vir*—*Soil*, the sun and *Sol*—*Luan*, the moon and *Luna*, &c. &c. &c. Hence it must follow, on Mr. Innes' own mode of reasoning, that there was neither *heaven* nor *earth*, *hand* nor *head*, *mother* nor *brother*, *man* nor *woman*, *sun* nor *moon*, &c. &c. &c. in Ireland, till St. Patrick introduced them.

Fully sensible that he was supporting a desperate and untenable position, he admits (v. 2. p. 451.) that the Irish had the *partial use of letters* prior to the arrival of St. Patrick. By the partial use of letters he probably means that they were confined to the higher ranks, but this again agrees ill with his assertion (v. 2. p. 466.) that the 300 volumes which St. Patrick burnt on his arrival, were written in magical or hieroglyphical letters, and intelligible only to the Druids. If the lower ranks in Ireland were wholly illiterate, the ordinary letters would have been as

sufficient a disguise as any other ; and if these volumes were unintelligible to all but the Druids, how could St. Patrick know their obnoxious contents, or whence could arise the necessity of burning them. I have thus followed *Pinkerton* and *Innes* through their different arguments ; and it is not a little strange, that, though both set out with the avowed intention of proving that St. Patrick was the first who introduced letters into Ireland, yet both have been obliged to recoil, and to subvert the very point which they wished to establish.

But though we might safely rest the use of letters in Ireland prior to St. Patrick, on the reluctant evidence of these two gentlemen, still there is not the slightest occasion for so gratuitous an alternative. The evidences on this head are numerous and irresistible. Had St. Patrick really found the Irish totally illiterate, why do none of his biographers plainly tell us so ? All that he did, was writing somewhat more than 365 alphabets.— See *Toland's quotation from Nennius*, p. 96. That the saint introduced the Roman alphabet, as a preliminary step to the introduction of the Roman language, no one will pretend to dispute ; but we can no more hence infer that the Irish were, prior to that period, destitute of letters, than that they were destitute of language. *Dudley Forbes*, and *Dr. Kennedy*, (see *Toland's* p. 105) testify that St. Patrick burnt from 180 to 300 volumes of Irish records. The compilation of these volumes must have been the work of many ages, and I hope no one will say that the Irish could compile them without the use of letters. But, says *Mr. Innes*, (vol. 2. p. 466) these volumes were written in hieroglyphical letters. This would be a *phenomenon* indeed. Egypt the parent (as far as we know) of hieroglyphics, was never possessed of one volume, and how can Ireland be supposed to possess 300 ? This assertion of *Mr. Innes* is perfectly foolish and gratuitous, when he had previously admitted, (v. 2. p. 451.) that the Irish had the partial use of letters prior to the arrival of St. Patrick. Had the saints' biographers considered him, or indeed wished him to be considered, as the father of Irish letters, they would never have acted so inconsistently as to tell us,

that they, (the Irish) had 300 volumes of records before his arrival.

The Irish have always held St. Patrick in the highest veneration. Their gratitude has been unbounded. They have even superloaded him with honours. Had he really been the father of Irish letters, what possible motive could they have had, to pluck this individual and solitary laurel from his brow. But they, on the contrary, (see Toland, p. 85.) ascribe their letters to *Fenius Farsaidh*, i. e. "*Phaenix the antient, or the antient Phœnician*. Whether by *Fenius Farsaidh*, they meant the *Taauf* of *Sanchóniathon*, or *Cadmus* who first introduced letters into Greece, it is impossible to determine. All that we can infer from it is, that the Irish derived their letters from the Phœnicians. The polite Greeks and Romans ascribe theirs to the same source. Herodotus, (lib. 5.) owns that the Greeks received their letters from the Phœnicians. *Diodorus Siculus*, (lib. 1.) says, *These Phœnicians who did receive these letters from the Muses, and afterwards communicated them to the Greeks, are the same who came into Europe with Cadmus*. *Lucan*, (*Pharsal. lib. 3.*) says,

Phœnices primi, famæ si credimus, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

i. e. "The Phœnicians, if we credit fame, were the first who attempted to give stability to words, by marking them with rude characters. *Pliny*, (lib. 5. & cap. 12. also lib. 7. cap. 56.) is very full to the same purpose. Having sufficiently established that the Greeks and Romans, as well as the Irish ascribe their letters to the Phœnicians, it is in the next place necessary to compare these alphabets.

The Phœnician, or (which is the same thing) the Hebrew or Chaldaic letters are, *Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, He, Vau, Dsain, Cheth, Teth, Iod, Caph, Lamech, Mem, Nun, Samech, Ain, Pe, Tsade, Koph, Resh, Shin, Tan*, in all twenty-two. The Greek letters introduced by Cadmus are *Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta, Epsilon, Iota, Kappa, Lambda, Mui, Nui*,

Omikron, Pi, Ro, Sigma, Tau, Ypsilon, in all sixteen. To these Palamedes, about the time of the Trojan war, added, *Xi, Theta, Phi, Chi*, and Simonides afterwards added *Zeta, Eta, Psi, Omega*. From the correspondence of the names of the Greek letters to those of the Hebrew, it is clear the former were derived from the latter. The Roman alphabet is, *A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, X, Y, Z*, in all twenty-five. The plenitude of the Roman alphabet, as well as the name of the letters being omitted, and the form or figure only retained, is a clear argument that it is much more modern than either of the preceding. The Irish alphabet is, *A, B, C, D, E, F, G, I, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T, U*, in all seventeen. Though *H* has latterly crept into the language, it was originally, as among the Greeks, an aspirate, and marked by a *dot* above the line. It is initial in no Celtic word, and merely used as an *Euphonic*, or, in combination with some other letter, as a substitute to supply the place of some letter wanting in the Irish alphabet. The Irish alphabet contains many genuine marks of remote antiquity, which deserve minute consideration.

1mo, *Its name*, viz. *Beth-Luis-Nion an Oghuim*—i. e. “the Alphabet of Ogum.—See Toland, p. 82, 83, 84, &c. This word is sometimes written *Ogam* and *Ogma*. Lucian (See Toland's Quotation, p. 81 & 82.) gives a very particular account of *Ogum* or *Ogma*, which he latinizes *Ogmios*. This name is no idle fiction or whim of the *Bards* or *Senachies* (as Pinkerton imagines) long after the arrival of St. Patrick. Lucian, who wrote about three centuries before St. Patrick's arrival, calls it *phonē tē epichōrion*—i. e. a word of the country—a *Gaelic word*. The antiquity of the word *Ogum*, and that it was Celtic, is thus established as early as the middle of the second century. The title of the Irish alphabet is therefore no fiction subsequent to the arrival of St. Patrick.

2do, *Its arrangement*, viz. *B, L, N*, &c. This is another mark of its antiquity, for we all know that the arrangement of the Roman alphabet is quite different. When St. Patrick had introduced the Roman language and letters, the Roman arrange-

ment of the alphabet prevailed, and this was the only alteration the Irish alphabet underwent.

3tio, *The names of the Irish letters*, viz. *Ailm*, an *Elm*; *Beth*, a *Birch*; *Coll*, a *Hazle*; *Duir*, an *Oak*; *Eadha*, an *Aspen-tree*; *Fearn*, an *Alder-tree*; *Gort*, an *Ivy-tree*; *Iodha*, a *Yew-tree*; *Luis*, a *Quicken-tree*; *Muin*, a *Vine*; *Nuin*, an *Ash*; *Oir*, a *Spindle-tree*; *Pieth-Bhog*, not translated by the Irish grammarians. *Ruis*, an *Elder-tree*; *Suil*, not translated by the Irish grammarians. *Teine*, not translated; *U*, *Heath*; *Uath*, (the aspirate *H*) a *white Thorn-tree*. Of these letters, *Beth*, *Jodha*, *Muin* and *Nuin*, bear a marked affinity to the *Hebrew Beth*, *Jod-Mem* and *Nun*, as well as to the *Greek Beta*, *Iota*, *Mu*, and *Nui*. What is most remarkable in this alphabet, is that it is considered as a *wood*, and the letters as *trees*. This idea is so perfectly original, that the Irish could not possibly have borrowed it from any nation in the world. Another mark of antiquity is, that the meaning of *Pieth-Bhog-Suil*, and *Teine*, are not known, and they are consequently left untranslated by the Irish grammarians. Had this alphabet been a modern fabrication, there could have been no difficulty in assigning a signification to these, as well as to the rest. It also possesses this peculiarity in common with the *Hebrew alphabet* that the name of every letter is significant and expressive.

4to. *Its figure or form*. The original Irish letters, (of which the reader will see a specimen in *Schaw's* analysis of the *Gaelic* language, *Major Valencia's* grammar, &c.) appear to be a compound of the *Greek* and *Saxon*. Taken in toto, they can be identified with no alphabet now known. Mr. *Pinkerton* has the modesty to tell us that the Irish alphabet is the *Saxon*. Can this gentleman have forgot, that he allows the Irish the use of letters as early as the arrival of *St. Patrick* in 432, and that he proves the *Germans*, *Scandinavians*, *Saxons*, &c. totally illiterate till the 9th century? Though the *Celts* did not receive their letters from the *Romans* or *Saxons*, still it is highly probable that the *Saxons* received theirs from the *Celts*, and this may ac-

count for the faint similarity which can be traced in some letters of their respective alphabets.

5to. *Its identity with the alphabet of Cadmus.* The Irish alphabet, as I have already stated, consists of 17 letters. With the exception of the letter *F*, the other 16 are *toto corpore*, the identical 16 letters which *Cadmus* introduced into Greece. This coincidence can neither have proceeded from accident nor design, but from the original and absolute identity of the alphabets themselves. If the Irish had *culled* or *selected* their alphabet from the Roman one, as has been foolishly imagined, by what miracle could they have hit on the identical letters of *Cadmus*, and rejected all the rest? Had they thrown 16 dice, 16 times, and turned up the same number every time, it would not have been so marvellous as this. The identity of the Cadmean and Irish alphabet is not therefore the effect of chance or accident. Neither is it the effect of design. Had the Irish framed this alphabet with a design to make it coincide exactly with that of *Cadmus*, they would, at least, have been possessed of as much common sense, as to leave out the letter *F*.

6to. *The paucity of its letters.* If St. Patrick introduced the Roman alphabet, why were the letters *j*, *κ*, *o*, *ν*, *x*, *γ*, and *z* omitted? For *κ* they had no occasion, their *c* being always pronounced hard. *J* is expressed by *d* put before *i* or *e*, thus *Dia* is pronounced *Jeeq*. There are no such sounds in the Celtic as those expressed by *o*, *x*, or *z*. The combinations *bh* and *mh* express *ν*, *dh* and *gh*, express *γ*. Though there was no occasion for *κ*, *o*, *x*, and *z*, still *j*, *ν*, and *γ*, were of primary necessity, the Celts, or Irish, having no such letters, and being obliged to express them by combinations or substitutions. But there is betwixt every written language and its alphabet a certain aptitude and affinity which peculiarly adapts them to each other. The peculiar alphabet of a language is its most graceful and appropriate dress. Every other alphabet, when applied to it, is awkward, forced, and unnatural. Were the *English* language written in *Greek* or *Hebrew* characters, it would well nigh go the length of ruining its whole form and orthography. The same

thing would happen were the English characters applied to the Greek or Hebrew languages. But where a language has not been written, any alphabet will suit it, and they easily coalesce and assimilate. Had the Irish (Celtic) language not been a written one, and its orthography settled, before the arrival of St. Patrick, there could have been no possible obstacle to the introduction of the Roman alphabet in its fullest extent. Indeed, had this not been the case, the introduction of the Roman alphabet would have followed as a necessary and inevitable consequence, though the *Saint* had been determined to prevent it.

7mo. *Its antiquity.* Many attempts have been made by Pinarton, and others, to get rid of the ancient Irish alphabet. They have rendered it a sort of short hand writing, invented about the tenth or eleventh century,—the *Notae Longobardicae*—*Runic characters*—*magical or hieroglyphical letters*, &c. But their grand argument is, that St. Patrick introduced the Roman letters in 432. Were we to grant this, it is the greatest death blow which these gentlemen could receive, for it must then follow, that such manuscripts as are written in the ancient Irish characters, are older than the æra of St. Patrick. But (say they) these characters were invented several centuries after St. Patrick had introduced the Roman alphabet. This concession would be equally fatal to them, for it would then follow, that St. Patrick was not the father of Irish letters, otherwise it would have been totally unnecessary for the Irish to frame an alphabet to themselves several centuries after his arrival. The truth is, that the Irish had an alphabet before the arrival of St. Patrick, and that, prior to that æra, the orthography of their language was fixed; and though St. Patrick and the christian clergy wrote the Irish language in Roman characters, still they found it impossible to add one letter more to the Irish alphabet than it originally possessed. The genius and orthography of the language rendered it impracticable. If any reinforcement from the Roman alphabet was necessary, it was most particularly the letters *v* and *y*, yet these were never introduced. That the Irish alphabet has had its gradations from rudeness to perfection, is no more than

has happened to that of all other languages. Such manuscripts as were written when these letters were in a very rude and ill defined state, would become occult, and hardly intelligible, when the alphabet had assumed, in a long series of ages, a better defined and more polished form. This circumstance has given rise to the groundless conjectures about magical and hieroglyphical letters, &c. and has led even some of the Irish historians astray. The unintelligibility of a manuscript (if it is occasioned by the rudeness of the characters in which it is written) has always been considered as a genuine mark of its antiquity; yet the preposterous Pinkerton makes it a proof of modernism; and, rather than allow that this obscurity has been superinduced on these manuscripts by the innovation of letters and of language, in a long lapse of ages, forges an occult alphabet for them in the eleventh century. But so far was the Roman alphabet from being generally prevalent in Ireland in the time of St. Patrick, that its use in that kingdom was partial and limited, even as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. King James the First having subjugated Ireland, wished to disseminate the gospel among the Irish, and for this pious purpose caused two editions of the *Bible* and *New Testament* to be printed in 1602. Both editions were printed in the Irish (Celtic) language, but one was printed in the Roman, and the other in the Irish characters. Had the Irish alphabet been superseded by the Roman one, or rather had not a considerable part of the Irish nation still retained their primitive mode of writing, this last edition was totally unnecessary and gratuitous. On the other hand, had these Irish letters been hieroglyphical, mystical, or unintelligible, as has been groundlessly asserted, would King James have been guilty of such an act of stupidity, as to make use of them for the propagation of the gospel. He certainly did not mean to insult the Irish with a book which was unintelligible.

The Greeks and Romans inform us that they derived their letters from the Phœnicians, and we give them implicit credit. The Irish ascribe theirs to the same source, yet they have been laughed to scorn. It is extremely hard thus implicitly to credit

the assertions of Greece and Rome, and to treat with contempt the claim of the Celts, who are by far the most ancient race of the three. The pretensions of the Celts, the aborigines of Europe, and the precursors of the Greeks and Romans, are modest in the extreme, in as much as they go no higher than those of Greece and Rome, nations only of yesterday, when compared to the antiquity of the Celts. If there is any absurdity at all in the case, it rests exclusively with the modern and upstart Greeks and Romans, in carrying their pretensions as high as the Celts. I am, however, far from disputing the authenticity of the Greek and Roman claims. All I mean is to shew that there is nothing immodest, extravagant, or absurd, in the Irish claim; and I do not hesitate to maintain, that if there is any priority in the case, the Celts, by far the most ancient race, are (*cæteris partibus*) clearly entitled to it.

But if we surrender the Phœnician origin of the Irish alphabet, we involve ourselves in a still greater difficulty. Let us, however, probe the matter to the bottom, and look for its origin in some other direction. Here we have not many choices, but must ascribe it to the Goths, to the Romans, or to the Greeks. The Goths (on the evidence of their devoted advocate Pinkerton) were unacquainted with letters till the ninth century, and consequently it could not be derived from this quarter. St. Patrick and his successors, notwithstanding all their influence, were never able to introduce the Roman alphabet into general use in Ireland; on the contrary, the Irish alphabet kept distinct and aloof, without altering its form, or borrowing a single letter; and after an arduous struggle, *yard arm and yard arm* (if I may use a nautical phrase) for twelve centuries, survived till the seventeenth century, and might have survived to the present day, had not James the First introduced English laws, English forms of government, and English schools, with strict injunctions that the Vernacular (Irish) language should neither be spoken nor taught in these seminaries. The Irish alphabet was not, therefore, borrowed from the Romans. The Greek alphabet has undergone three gradations: it first consisted of the sixteen letters

of Cadmus; to these Palamedes added four, about the time of the Trojan war. Simonides, at an after period, added four more, making in all twenty-four. If we derive the Irish from the Greek alphabet, we must select the æra when these alphabets approximate nearest both as to number and identity of letters. This æra is prior to the siege of Troy, when the alphabets of Phœnicia, of Greece, and of Ireland, (with the exception of the letter F, the origin of which is uncertain, and which might still be spared without any material injury to the Celtic language) absolutely coincided both in number and identity of letters. It is, indeed, worthy of remark, that the Irish have added only one letter (F) to the alphabet of Cadmus, whilst the Greeks have added eight, and the Romans nine. Though there are instances of a nation enlarging its alphabet, there is not one (as far as I know) of curtailing or abridging it. Had the Celts borrowed their alphabet posterior to the siege of Troy, when the Greek alphabet (which, no doubt, kept pace with the Phœnician one) was increased to twenty letters, they must have borrowed the same number; and if after the time of Simonides, they must have borrowed twenty-four letters. It is, therefore, no vain boast, when the Irish ascribe their alphabet to the Phœniciaus; for there is, in fact, no alphabet in the world, which, at the present day, bears the same intrinsic, unequivocal, and characteristic marks of identity, with that of Cadmus. Nor is there any well founded reason to conclude that the Celts borrowed this alphabet through the medium of the Greeks. They were themselves an Asiatic colony, who long preceded the Greeks, and might have brought this alphabet along with them to Europe. We find them, at the first dawn of history, situated to the west of Greece, and along the shores of the Mediterranean, whence their intercourse with the Phœnicians was frequent and easy. But as I have no certain *data* whereby to fix this point, I shall content myself with having clearly established that the Irish alphabet is of Phœnician origin—that it is older than the siege of Troy—and that the Celts have consequently had the use of letters at least 3000 years.

Antiquity of the Irish Manuscripts.

Ireland, and its early history, have been long viewed through a dark cloud of prejudice. It is the most remote, and probably the last inhabited of all the Celtic districts. In Italy, in Spain, in Germany, in Gaul, not a single Celtic manuscript has been preserved. In Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland, we have a few, but Ireland itself boasts of an infinitely greater number than all the other Celtic nations taken together. Ireland, at first sight, promises least, whilst its pretensions are apparently extravagant and unbounded. This seeming incongruity has induced the bulk of mankind, without enquiry or consideration, to pronounce its manuscripts mere modern forgeries, and its history utterly fabulous and absurd. Singularly, however, as Ireland is in these respects circumstanced, it is not without a parallel. Judea, a century prior to the christian æra, was known to the Greeks and Romans hardly otherwise than by name. Tacitus, who wrote about the beginning of the second century, gives us an account of the Jews totally false and ridiculous. Justin, who wrote a century and a half later, is equally false and fabulous. It was christianity alone (the best *boon* of heaven to mankind) which made their history and antiquities to be investigated and respected. Had Ethnicism still prevailed in the world, the history of the Jews (though the most ancient, as well as the only authentic one) would, without doubt, have been, at the present day, treated with more contempt and ridicule than even that of Ireland.

That there is no nation in the world which makes high pretensions to antiquity, without being in some measure entitled to it, may safely be granted. This we know to be the case with the Jews, the Chaldeans, the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, &c. The Celts (of whom the Irish are a

branch) were, in fact, the Aborigines of Europe. They long preceded the Greeks, Romans, and all other European nations. The antiquity of the Irish is, therefore, no vain dream. But the true point of astonishment is, by what means the Irish preserved their history and records, when those of all the other Celtic nations were lost. This point is the object of the present enquiry; and I shall discuss it with all possible brevity and impartiality.

That the Celts had the use of letters at a very remote period, I have already clearly established. In Cæsar's time, the chief academy or school of the Druids had been so long established in Britain, that Druidism was supposed to have been invented there, and thence transferred into Gaul. Pinkerton lays hold of this passage, and (vol. 1. page 405.) asserts that the Phœnicians, who traded to Cornwall for tin, taught the inhabitants Druidism. Were we to grant this position, it would completely invalidate the very system, which he has so strenuously laboured to rear. Druidism, as defined by Cæsar, comprehended all that was great and respectable in philosophy. The Phœnicians preceded the Greeks themselves in the use of letters, and at least equalled them in all the arts and sciences. If the Phœnicians taught the Welch Druidism, it must of necessity follow, that the first Druids were Phœnician Philosophers or Missionaries, who would infallibly bring the literature, the arts and the sciences of Phœnicia, along with them, and communicate them to their disciples. Hence a direct channel would have been opened for pouring the whole literature and arts of Phœnicia into Britain. Yet this same visionary theorist, who obtrudes on the Celts a Phœnician religion, denies them a Phœnician alphabet. Indeed it is no less extraordinary than true, that there is hardly one argument adduced by this gentleman against the Celts, which does not operate directly in their favour.

When Cæsar tells us that Druidism was invented in Britain, he expresses himself with diffidence, and only says, *it is supposed*, (*existimatur*.) The truth is, that the Greeks and Romans early unsheathed the sword against mankind, and each in their

turn aspired to universal dominion. The Goths or Germans, a Persian race, fetching the circuit of the Caspian Sea, poured in upon the Celts in Germany, from the north, with relentless barbarity. Owing to these and other causes, the Continent of Europe was almost one scene of turbulence, rapine, and bloodshed. The peculiar studies of the Druids required solitude and retirement. This was only to be found in Britain, where they fixed their chief establishment, and thither (as Cæsar informs us) resorted from the Continent all such as wished to study Druidism to perfection. The date of this Druidical establishment in Britain cannot be ascertained, but we may safely fix it five centuries before the time of Cæsar. A shorter period would be wholly insufficient to make the Druids in Gaul forget the origin of the institution, and resign the precedence to those in Britain. The same wary prudence and sound policy which pointed out Britain, as the place of greatest security for the chief establishment of the Druids, would also point it out as the safest asylum for their records and manuscripts; and hence the most important manuscripts of Gaul would be deposited in Britain.

Ireland was occupied by the same Celtic race which inhabited Britain and Gaul, and had unquestionably the same civil and religious institutions. Toland well remarks, that Druidism was only coextended with the Celtic dialects. In Cæsar's time, as we have already seen, the British Druids were the teachers of the Gauls; and it would be absurd to suppose that the Irish, with whom the intercourse was equally easy, did not participate the same advantage. Unfortunately the Roman page throws no light on the early history of Ireland, else we might probably find, that, even in Cæsar's time, the Druids of Ireland were nothing inferior to those of Britain. Indeed, at this very period, the Druids of Britain might regard Ireland as their last asylum.

In Cæsar's time, the Druids were subjected to no proscription nor persecution. From his whole account it appears that they had the use of letters,—that they were at least partially acquainted with the Greek and Roman languages,—that they were numerous and dispersed over the whole extent of Gaul,—that

they were profound philosophers, and the supreme judges in all causes, civil or religious. It is equally clear, from the testimony of the same author, that the Druids of Gaul had, from time immemorial, been the pupils of those in Britain. Hence we may reasonably infer, that the Druids in Britain were as numerous as those in Gaul, and as widely dispersed. From their monuments still remaining in England, Scotland, and Ireland, this can be clearly demonstrated to be the case. Indeed, if there were any doubt of these monuments being Druidical, it is completely done away by their being in all respects the very same as those found in Gaul and Anglesey, countries confessedly Druidical. Exclusive of this identity, we have many of these monuments in England, Scotland, and Ireland, still denominated the *Towns of the Druids*—the *Stones of the Druids*—the *Graves of the Druids*—the *Houses of the Druids*, &c. There is hardly a district of six miles square, in Great Britain or Ireland, which cannot boast of one or more of these antiquities. Some of these Druid's Houses (*Tighte nan Druineach*) are even found in Argyleshire, a clear proof that the Druids were not confined to Wales, as Pinkerton foolishly imagines, but spread over the whole extent of Britain. Were we to take Cæsar's words literally, and suppose that Druidism was invented in Britain, the Druids would certainly disseminate this religion over Britain, and provide it with Druids, before they would think of sending Missionaries to convert Gaul. In whatever country Druidism prevailed, the Druids behaved to be very numerous. They were philosophers, ministers of religion, public teachers, civil judges, historians and physicians. Every inhabited district had its share of them. On the testimony of Cæsar, Britain had an immense multitude of inhabitants—*hominum est infinita multitudo*. Indeed, so completely were the Druids scattered over the whole extent of Britain and Ireland, that, even in the most remote and solitary corners, as well as in the most desert and insignificant islands, their monuments are every where to be found. We may therefore safely conclude, (with Mr. Toland) that the

Druids were planted in Britain and Ireland, as thick as the present established clergy, and in some instances much thicker.

The unbounded influence of the Druids over all ranks, and their interference in civil affairs, in process of time led to their ruin. Cæsar, who had trampled the liberties of his country under foot, and might dread its resentment, treated foreign nations with great lenity. He seems to have treated the Druids in Gaul with much respect, and we are certain that Divitiacus, their Archdruid, was his principal friend and favourite. From the same motives of policy, he treated Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, with equal attention and respect. But succeeding emperors, particularly Tiberius and Claudius, passed the most cruel and exterminating decrees against the whole order of the Druids. Pliny (*see Note 12.*) says, that in the reign of Tiberius, Druidism was totally extirpated. Yet it is very extraordinary, that, except a Druid slain by the Emperor Claudius (*see Note 12.*), there is not another instance on record of the massacre or death of a single Druid, throughout the whole extent of Gaul. In Great Britain we have only one solitary instance to the same effect mentioned by Tacitus (*see Note 49. p. 308.*) when the Romans under Suetonius, towards the middle of the first century, roasted the Druids of Anglesey alive. After this period no Roman author makes mention of the Druids, either in Gaul, or on the *terra firma* of Great Britain. Pinkerton, and some others, have been kind enough to collect all the Druids of Britain on the Isle of Anglesey, that the Romans might extirpate them at one blow. Weak and credulous mortals! More than three centuries after this massacre, Ammianus Marcellinus found Druids in the Isle of Mann; and from this position of the *rear*, it is not difficult to ascertain where the *main body* had taken shelter. That Anglesey had its proportion of Druids, cannot be disputed; but it is not the murder of perhaps a dozen or two in this island, and of one solitary individual in Gaul, which will account for all the Druids in Gaul and Britain, who, including their subordinate gradations, could not, on the most moderate calculation, amount to less than twenty thousand. In more modern times, an hun-

dred *Ollamhs* (graduate bards) have struck up their harps at once, in the hall of a single chieftain. I hope I need not inform the reader that the Bards were the second order of the Druids.

We have already seen that the Druids, before there was either edict or decree of the Roman senate against them, had fixed their chief college or academy in Britain. On the first appearance of Roman invasion, the same wary policy would dictate the necessity of transferring it to Ireland, the only asylum then left. But on the passing of the relentless laws for their utter extirpation, they had not only to provide for the safety of their chief establishment and principal records, but even for that of the whole order. That the Roman decrees were enforced with the utmost rigour, is sufficiently evinced, from the Emperor Claudius having so far forgot his dignity as to become the executioner of one of these Druids, and from the Romans sparing the bulk of the inhabitants of Anglesey (*præsidium impositum victis*), whilst they actually and literally roasted the Druids alive, *igni suo involunt*. Two such terrible examples were sufficient to alarm the Druids in Gaul and Britain; and so readily did they take the alarm, and so carefully did they keep out of the way, that there is not another instance of the murder of a Druid on record.

From the time of this massacre in Anglesey, there is no more mention of Druids in Britain, till Ammianus Marcellinus (about the year 368) found them in the Isle of Mann. The description which he gives of them (see Note 20) is animated and sublime. This is an incontestible proof that the Druids were not extirpated by the Romans, but that they fled every where from their relentless persecution. The world, at this time, afforded the Druids but few places of shelter. The Romans were, at this period, (368) masters of all Gaul, a considerable part of Germany, and nearly the whole of Britain. Even Anglesey, more than three centuries prior to this period, could not afford them shelter against the Romans. The Druids in Gaul would naturally, on the first appearance of danger, take shelter among the Druids in Britain, with whom they were well acquainted, and under whose care they had completed their studies. When the

Roman power reached them in Britain, they had no alternative but Ireland, and the islands of Scotland. When no Roman found a single Druid on the continent of Britain, and Ammianus found the *rear* of them in the Isle of Mann, there cannot remain a doubt that the *main body* had proceeded to Ireland, though a few individuals might perhaps straggle over the Hebrides, or shelter themselves in the most inaccessible parts of Wales and the Highlands of Scotland. By this event Ireland became possessed of the *literati*, the *traditions*, the *history*, the *literature*, and the *records*, of all the Celtic nations. Ireland was the *ne plus ultra* of Celtic migration. Here Druidism found its last asylum, and here it made its last agonizing effort, and expired.

It has been most unfortunate for the history of Ireland, that its early historians had not the candour to acknowledge the vast acquisition of records which they gained on the expulsion of the Druids from Gaul and Britain. It would have prevented much confusion, and afforded a handle to develope such parts of their history as appear so hyperholical as to baffle the most extravagant pitch of human credulity. But the truth is, that the Irish, availing themselves of these records, to which they had no earthly claim, appropriated them to themselves, and framed a history from that of all the other Celts; and it is unquestionably the application of all the events which befell all the Celtic tribes (since their first migration from Asia) to the solitary and detached island of Ireland, which makes its history appear so utterly ridiculous and absurd. The Irish historians say that the *Firbolg* (*Viri Belgie*) arrived in Ireland 1500 years before the christian æra—the *Tuath de Danan* (*Damnū* of North Britain) 1250, and the *Milesians* 1000. Now as all these nations unquestionably kept some accounts of their origin, as well as the Irish, the only error which the Irish historians seem to have committed, is substituting the date of their first migration from their respective countries, for that of their first arrival in Ireland. Rectified in this manner, the account is not only modest, but highly probable. The story of *Partholanus*, *Nemedius*, *Simon Breac*, &c. &c. though not applicable to the Irish, may yet apply to some

others of the Celtic nations. Were these manuscripts published with a literal translation, the other Celtic nations might yet claim their own, and the history of Ireland would be reduced within proper bounds. But till this is done, it is impossible for me, or any one else, to decide on the merits, or fix the absolute antiquity of these manuscripts. All that can be done is, to argue the matter on general principles.

Of all the Celtic nations, the *Scots* are most interested in the publication of these manuscripts. Their history, as well as their identity, is intervolved with that of Ireland. Pinkerton has strained every nerve to prove that Ireland was Scotland up to the eleventh century. Goodal, (*see his Introduction to Fordan*) has been equally strenuous in maintaining that the north of Scotland was Ireland. Strabo places Ireland due north of Britain, which corresponds very well to the north of Scotland. Tacitus (*Vit. Agric. sup. 8.*) calls that part of Scotland situated north of the rivers Clyde and Forth, *quasi aliam insulam*—i. e. “as if another island.” Indeed, from the tenour of this whole chapter, it is evident that Tacitus, by *Hibernia* (Ireland) means the north of Scotland. So completely was his editor at Cologne of the Allobroges in 1614 of this opinion, that, in his *Notitia Breviarium* of said chapter, he says,—*res tertio, quarto, quinto, expeditionum suarum anno, præsertim in Hibernia gestæ*—i. e. “the exploits (of Agricola) performed in the third, fourth, and fifth year of his expeditions, particularly in Ireland.” Now every one knows that the scene of Agricola’s actions, during these years, lay not in Ireland, but in the north of Scotland. Without entering into the merits of this dispute, which is of no importance to the Scots, it is sufficient to shew that Scotland was the parent of Ireland. The Irish (as has already been shewn) admit that the *Tuath de Danan* (*Damnii*) arrived in Ireland 1250 years prior to our æra. Ptolemy makes the territories of the *Damnii* reach from *Galloway* to the *Tay*; and if, as Pinkerton imagines, the *Novantæ* were only a part of the *Damnii*, their territories must have stretched to the Solway Frith. Richard of Cirencester places a tribe of the same people in Argyle.

shire. From the extent of their territories, they must have been the most numerous, as well as the most powerful, of the Scottish tribes. But what is most to our present purpose is, that they occupied that very part of Scotland which approaches nearest to Ireland. An island cannot be inhabited or sought after till it is known, and who could know it sooner than the *Damnii*, who lived within sight of it. The Irish, indeed, place the *Firbolg* (*Belgae*) in Ireland 250 years before the *Damnii*, but this is contrary to all probability; and it is well known, that in events of remote antiquity, nations do not err so much in matter of fact, as in point of chronological accuracy. The Irish themselves expressly say that the *Tuath de Dannan* came from Scotland to Ireland. In this case we have—1mo, The testimony of Ptolemy, who places the *Damnii* in that very point of Scotland which approaches nearest to Ireland—2do, The direct and positive testimony of the Irish themselves, that the *Damnii* came from Scotland. Till, therefore, Whitaker, Pinkerton, &c. can place their respective hypotheses respecting the early population of Ireland, on a basis equally sure and stable (which is impossible), Scotland is well entitled to reckon itself the parent of Ireland. The circumstance of an Irish colony having settled in Argyleshire about the middle of the third century, can by no means invalidate this claim, but greatly confirms it; for in the hour of danger or difficulty, where does a child more naturally take shelter than in the arms of its mother? That Scotland afforded Ireland the bulk of its early population, we have already seen. Hence the intimacy betwixt them must have been great, and the intercourse frequent; and the migration of a colony from the one country to the other, was merely a matter of course.

But though the publication of the Irish manuscripts could not fail to throw light on the whole early history of Scotland, there is another point which it might perhaps absolutely determine—I mean the authenticity of *Ossian's Poems*. Here, as in most other matters, we have the same perplexity and confusion. Both nations claim Fingal and his heroes. The Irish have, however, laid only a faint and feeble claim to the poems of Ossian. The

strong fact of these poems having been collected from oral recitation in the islands and Highlands of Scotland, must have convinced them that the struggle was in vain. But it was in Argyle that this Dalriadic colony settled, and Argyle was the principal scene of Fingal's achievements. Hence Ireland claims both Fingal and the colony. This double claim of the Scots and Irish has led some foolishly to imagine that there were two Fingals. No such thing. The Irish claimed the colony and Fingal, because this colony was originally from Ireland; and the Scots claim both, because actually residing in Scotland. But this same colony, after a residence of two centuries, was defeated by the Picts, obliged to evacuate Argyleshire, and to take refuge in Ireland, about the middle of the fifth century. By this unfortunate event, the history, the traditions, and records of this colony, found their way direct to Ireland. Indeed, when I reflect on the repeated catastrophes of the Scottish records, I could almost sit down and weep! This colony resided fifty years in Ireland, before it was reinstated in Argyleshire; and hence the Irish must have been well acquainted with the history of Fingal, and the poems of Ossian. If in these manuscripts a copy of *Ossian's Poems*, or even of one of the poems of Ossian, could be found, it would lay the important controversy for ever to rest. It would even be a point of primary importance, if the æra of Fingal could be exactly fixed. The manner in which Pinkerton has treated these poems is almost idiotical. The one moment they are downright trash, and utterly contemptible, and the next, they contain many passages truly sublime, and are the production of some poet of *superlative genius*, who flourished in the Highlands of Scotland during the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Satisfied with neither of these theories, he gives us a new one in his list of *errata*, in the following words:—*Since seeing the specimens of the genuine traditional poems ascribed to Ossian in the memoirs of the Irish Royal Society, the author is induced to think that most of these pieces are really composed by Irish bards.* In order to appreciate the meaning of this important concession, it is necessary to inform the reader that Pinkerton

uniformly asserts that the *Irish* were the *real* and *only* *Scots* up to the eleventh century ; or, in other words, that *Irish* and *Scots* were synonymous terms. The plain English of the matter then is, that the poems of *Ossian* are both *Scottish* and *authentic*. If there is evidence enough in the memoirs of the Irish Royal Society to convince Pinkerton of the authenticity of these poems, there is certainly (considering his anticeltic prejudices) much more than enough to convince all the world besides. But the pity is, that Scotland and Ireland have pulled in opposite directions ; and by preferring each, its individual and exclusive claim have perplexed and obscured, instead of illustrating this important point. The contention is mean, contemptible, and gratuitous. It is a matter of the utmost indifference whether we call these poems *Scottish* or *Irish*, or whether we blend both names together, and call them *Scoto-Irish*. The claims of both nations are solid and well founded, with this difference, that the claim of the Scots is more immediate and direct, that of the Irish more distant and circuitous. Both nations are, however, sufficiently interested to combine their efforts, and produce such documents as they are respectively possessed of ; and were this done, there is not even the shadow of a doubt but the authenticity of these poems might be placed on a basis so firm and stable, as would bid defiance to all future cavil or controversy.

Were Pinkerton a man of impartiality, or could we be certain that he had bestowed one serious thought on the subject, his concession that these poems were composed by the *Irish bards*, would be of vast importance, because, according to his own definition, the *Irish bards* were the *Scottish*. Indeed, if the authenticity of these poems is once fixed, the claims of the Irish and Scots can be satisfactorily adjusted. But Pinkerton gives these poems to the Irish from mere whim and caprice, because he is determined not to give them to the Scots ; and had the Welch preferred the slightest claim to them, there is not a doubt but he would have given them to *Caradoc of Lancarvon*, or *Owen Glendower*, without a scruple. But what justice can any Scot expect from him, when he wrecks his fury on the very name, and

(vol. 1. p. 366.) calls it *the little word Scôt*. Where is there a historian besides who could have made the sublime discovery that *Scot* is a shorter word than *Kamtschatka*, or that the *historic merits* of a name must be determined by the number of letters which it contains.

This gentleman is beyond all measure severe on Toland, and the Irish historians. He brands Toland with *infidelity*, and says, (v. 2. p. 17.) when he believed the Irish historians, he might have *swallowed the scriptures*, or any thing. On the Irish historians and their records, he has exhausted the whole vocabulary of abuse, and even asserts (vol. 2. p. 14.) that he would give up their history, (tales as he calls it) *though its veracity could be evidenced to all Europe by irrefragable proofs*. Whatever is supported by irrefragable proofs, ought not to be given up; but the very proposal shews his obstinate determination to annihilate even the authentic history of Ireland. But I cannot better answer the cavils of this gentleman than by exhibiting to the reader a specimen of the system which he himself has reared, which, from his avowed fastidiousness to others, might be expected to be the very quintessence of *religious orthodoxy*, and *historic truth*, and which I shall give in his own identical words. *It is*, says he, (Dissertation annexed to vol. 2. p. 33.) *a self-evident proposition, that the author of nature, as he formed great varieties in the same species of plants, and of animals, so he also gave various races of men as inhabitants of several countries. A Tartar, a Negroe, an American, &c. &c. differ as much from a German, as a bull-dog, or lap-dog, or shepherd's cur, from a pointer. The differences are radical, and such as no climate or chance could produce; and it may be expected, that as science advances, able writers will give us a complete system of the many different races of men. And again, (ibidem)—The latest and best natural philosophers pronounce the flood impossible; and their reasons, grounded on mathematical truth, and the immutable laws of nature, have my full assent. These are, perhaps, rather retrograde specimens of orthodoxy, but there was a dignus oïndix nodus in the case, an absolute necessity for these important*

sacrifices, because his Gothic system could not stand without them. But the true point of astonishment is, that the man who can thus deliberately deny the *creation of the world*, the *deluge*, and consequently the whole system of revelation, should have the consummate impudence, or rather folly, to charge Mr. Toland with infidelity, and disrespect to the sacred records. Having thus *swallowed the deluge*, which impeded his *Gothic career*, and modelled the *creation* to his own purpose, let us now attend to the result. *The Scythians, (Goths)* says he, (ibidem, p. 187.) *whom the dawn of history discovers in present Persia, under their king Tanaus, attack Vexores, king of Egypt, and conquer Asia, (Justin) 1500 years before Ninus, or about 3660 before Christ.* By this means he makes the Scythians conquer Asia in the 344th year of the world, and exactly 586 years (*according to scripture chronology*) before the death of Adam. Mr. Pinkerton was here in a great strait. He must either credit *Justin* or the *sacred records*. If the latter, neither he, nor his favourite Goths, could surmount the barrier of the deluge. But there was another obstacle in the way, viz. *scripture chronology*. Concerning it, he says, (ibidem, page 186.)—*Ancient chronology has been ruined by attempting to force it to scripture, which is surely no canon of chronology. But ancient chronology ought only to be estimated from ancient authors, and kept quite apart from scriptural chronology. The date of the creation, &c. can never be decided, either from scripture or otherwise, and such speculations are futile.* Orthodox and immaculate christian!!! No wonder that thy righteous spirit was grieved with Toland's infidelity; and that thou exclaimest most bitterly against it. But who is this mighty *Heathen Goliath*, before whom the whole system of revealed religion must fall? It is the weak, the foolish, the fabulous Justin, the unprincipled abridger of Trogus Pompeius, who is, with the greatest good reason, suspected of destroying the original, that he might give currency to his own fictions. The reader is desired to remark that Pinkerton expressly says, (in the passage already quoted) *that the Scythians under their king Tanaus, attack Vexores, king of Egypt, and conquer Asia, &c.* and gives

Justin as his authority. But what will the reader think of Mr. Pinkarton, when I assure him that Justin does not once mention *Tanaus* on the occasion, nor, indeed, any Scythian king whatever; nay, what is more, he does not, throughout his whole treatise on the origin and history of the Scythians, contained in the five first chapters of his second book, once mention the name of *Tanaus*. The only Scythian kings he mentions are *Sagillus* and *Janeirus*, the first cotemporary with Hercules, and the last with Darius. Justin had, however, fixed the æra of both these kings, and they were, besides, too modern for Mr. Pinkarton's purpose. But as Justin had assigned the Egyptians a king, and had been so unpolite as to march the Scythians to this war without one, Mr. Pinkarton was obliged to look out for a *straggler* of some kind or other, and place him at the head of his *red haired friends*. This straggler *Tanaus* he found in the first chapter of the first book of Justin. Speaking of Ninus, and the Assyrian monarchy, which he reckons the first on record, Justin proceeds thus—*Fuere quidem temporibus antiquiores, Sesostris Ægypti, et Scythiae rex Tanaus; quorum alter in Pontum, alter usque Ægyptum processit. Sed longinqua, non finitima bella gerebant, nec imperium sibi, sed populis suis gloriam quærebant, contentique victoria, imperio abstinebant. Ninus magnitudinem quæsitæ dominationis continua possessione firmavit*—i. e. "Sesostris, king of Egypt, and Tanaus, king of Scythia, were indeed more ancient than Ninus, the one of whom advanced as far as Pontus, and the other as far as Egypt. But they carried on wars at a distance, not in their own vicinity, nor did they seek dominion for themselves, but glory for their people; and, content with victory, did not domineer over the conquered. Ninus established the greatness of his acquired dominion by taking immediate possession of his conquests." In the preceding part of the chapter, Justin informs us of the justice and equity of ancient kings, who defended the borders of their own kingdoms, but did not advance them by encroachments on their neighbours; and then proceeds as above quoted. Ninus was the first who broke through this equitable principle. Justin admits there were two kings before

him, *Sesostris* and *Tanaus*, who made conquests, but did not retain them, whereas *Ninus* took immediate possession, and consolidated his new conquests with his former dominions. From Justin, all that we know of *Tanaus* is, that he penetrated as far as Egypt—that he was prior to *Ninus*, and posterior to *Sesostris*. The war of *Sesostris* against the Scythians happened 1480 years before our æra. Justin puts *Tanaus* after *Sesostris*, and it is certainly allowing too much, if we make them cotemporary. Let us then allow that *Tanaus* lived 1480 years before our æra. But Justin reckons that the war of the Scythians against the Egyptians, under *Vexores*, took place 3660 years before the christian æra, or 2100 years before *Tanaus* was in existence. But if there ever was such a king as *Vexores*, who, according to Justin, (lib. 2. cap. 3.) not only declared war against the Scythians, but sent ambassadors to tell them the terms of their servitude, why does he not mention him as the first tyrant on record, especially when professedly giving us a list of the earliest usurpers? Foolish and fabulous, however, as Justin is, I must acquit him of saying that *Tanaus* led the Scythians against the Egyptians under *Vexores*. It is a mean, deliberate falsehood, fabricated by Pinkerton, and imposed on Justin to give it the stamp of currency and credibility. Finding *Tanaus*, a king of the Scythians, mentioned by Justin, (lib. 1. cap. 1.) without an army, and an army of Scythians without a king, (lib. 2. cap. 3.) he instantly appoints him to the command of this army, without even considering that he must have been 2100 years old when he took the command, or (which is much the same) must have taken the command 2100 years before he was born. Had he appointed *General Wolfe*, or the *Duke of Marlborough* to the command of the Caledonian army which fought against the Romans under *Agriçola*, it would have been modest in comparison of this.

But Justin may easily be made consistent with himself, and with Herodotus, Dicaearchus, Diodorus, Siculus, &c. who make *Sesostris* conquer the Scythians. It is well known that Egypt had six kings of the name of *Sesostris*. It had also two kings of the name of *Ptolmey*, the one, for the sake of distinction, sir-

named *Soter*, or *Lagus*, the other *Philadelphus*. The most famous of their kings who bore the name of *Sesostris*, was surnamed *Rameses Miriam*. For distinction's sake, a series of kings of the same name must have some discriminating epithet or appellation. The *Sesostris* mentioned by Justin was probably surnamed *Vexores*, and then both were the same person. There is nothing ascribed to them by Justin, that will not much better apply to one person, than to two different persons. *Sesostris*, according to Justin, was the first usurper on record, and so was *Vexores*. According to Herodotus, *Sesostris* was the first Egyptian king who fought against the Scythians, and, according to Justin, it was *Vexores*. In order to solve all the difficulties of the case, we have only to suppose that the name of this king was *Sesostris Vexores*, whom Justin's stupidity (for it is well known he was no great head piece) split into two different kings. How fortunate was it that he did not hit on *Sesostris Rameses Miriam*, and split him into three. But this blunder of Justin was singularly convenient for Pinkerton, because it placed his favourite *Goths* (Scythians) on the throne of Asia 1312 years before the *deluge*, and hence he fights as strenuously for *Vexores* as he does for *Gothicism* itself. Well aware that Justin, in this particular, is contradicted by every ancient author, without exception, he must have been sensible that the case was hopeless and desperate in the extreme, and the proof he adduces is equally desperate. He quotes *Trogus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, *Trogus' Narrative*, *Trogus' Ancient History*, &c. without being able to produce one sentence, or even one word of that author. He might at least have favoured us with one word, though it had been no larger than the *little word Scot*. But does this gentleman really imagine mankind so ignorant as not to know that *Trogus' Ancient History* has been lost more than 1500 years, and that his friend Justin is violently suspected of having been the murderer of it. It would have been much the honester way to have told us candidly that Trogus was dead and his work lost, and that he had no evidence to adduce. Had Mr. Pinkerton a cause depending in the Court of Session, in which the evidence of Trogus

Pompeius might be of service to him; and were he to come sweating and panting into court with this dead Roman historian on his back, and offer him as a witness, would not he be considered as a madman? Now, I appeal to all the world, if it is not as ridiculous to endeavour to elicit evidence from a *dead work*, as from a *dead man*. The next evidences adduced are two reverend bishops, *Epiphanius* and *Eusebius*, who, so far from being of any service to him, do not even mention *Vexores*, or indeed in the remotest degree allude to him. The sum total of their evidence is, that in their days there was a religious error in the church named Scythism. The last proof is an extract from the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 23, which also reckons Scythism one of the religious errors then prevalent. Let us now see the amount of this evidence. The first is a *dead work*, which can prove nothing; the next two bishops, who know nothing at all about the matter; and as to the *Chronicon Paschale*, its evidence coincides exactly with that of the bishops. The point to be proved was, that *Vexores*, king of the Egyptians, was defeated by the Scythians 3660 years before the Christian era, or, (according to scripture chronology), 1312 years before the deluge. The amount of the proof is, that in the early Christian churches, there was an error or heresy named Scythism. Yet on this single passage of Justin, clearly overturned by the evidence of scripture chronology, and contradicted by every profane author who has written on the subject, has Mr. Pinkerton founded his favourite theory; and on this fictitious twig, on which no *Celt* would risk his cat, this grave and formal advocate for religious orthodoxy and historic truth, sits perched, bearing (like another *Atlas*) on his shoulders the gigantic weight of the whole Gothic system.

Having, after this arduous struggle against *truth* and *heaven*, seated his *red-haired friends* on the throne of Asia, 1312 years before the deluge, one would be apt to suppose that his labours had been sufficiently Herculean, and that he would now sit down happy and contented. Vain thought!!! All that is yet performed is only like a drop in the bucket, in comparison of what remains to be achieved. He says (*ibidem*, p. 23.) *If any*

reader inclines to look upon the deluge as fabulous, or, at most, a local event, and desires to learn whence the Scythians came to present Persia, he need not be told that it is impossible to answer him. With their residence in Persia, commences the faintest dawn of history: beyond, although the period may amount to myriads of ages, there is nothing but profound darkness. It will be recollected that he has already placed the Scythians in Asia 1312 years before the deluge; and, in order to ascertain the probable period of endurance prior to that period, here assigned them, I beg leave to remark—1mo, that a myriad is ten thousand years; 2do, that an age is generally considered a century. A myriad of centuries is one million of years. The length of time which he supposes the Scythian empire may probably have lasted in Persia, prior to the 344th year of the world, is, therefore, *many millions of years*. Ye upstart and mushroom chronologers of Chaldea and China, hang down your heads and hide your faces for ever!!! What are your 200,000 or 300,000 years, compared to this? I have been the more particular in investigating the merits of this passage of Justin—1mo, because it is the very foundation stone of the Gothic system; 2do, because it is made a handle of to subvert scripture chronology, scripture itself, and in a word all that is sacred and venerable in heaven and on earth; 3tio, because Mr. Pinkarton has treated Toland, and the Irish historians, as downright madmen, and I therefore found it necessary to sketch the outlines of the religious and historical fabric which he himself has reared, that I might contrast it with that of Toland and the Irish, and let the public judge for themselves. In treating of the Irish records, and exhibiting their most prominent features to view, I shall adhere to the same impartiality which I have observed in handling Mr. Pinkarton's system. I cannot here help remarking, that Mr. Pinkarton has withheld from public view many particulars respecting the Scythians. *Pliny* (lib. 7. cap. 2.) says that the Scythians of Mount *Imaus* had their toes turned back behind them, and their heels foremost, and that they were of incredible swiftness, *aversis post crura plantis, eximiae velocitatis*. In describing the Scythians,

such a striking peculiarity ought not to have been omitted. Had Pliny turned his attention to the more elevated parts of the body, we might perhaps have found that the structure of their heads was equally retrograde with that of their heels; and on this principle some modern Gothic preposterousities might be accounted for, which have hitherto appeared totally inexplicable. What an immense treasure must that man possess, who is blessed with a *Gothic pair of heels*, and a *Gothic understanding!!!*

Whilst the Irish manuscripts remain unpublished, it is impossible to pronounce decisively, either on their authenticity or antiquity. The only aids we have in this case are the opinions of the Irish themselves, or their history. The last I consider as the most equitable and impartial rule, because it is much easier to mistake the date of a manuscript, than to forge a history altogether without materials. Pinkarton himself is obliged to acknowledge, *that Ireland is the most ancient of all the modern nations of Europe*. But what could place it on this proud pinnacle of pre-eminence? It certainly was not Roman intercourse or civilization. The early literature of Ireland is a phenomenon for which it is impossible to assign even a probable reason, if we give up this single point, that it was the *ne plus ultra* of Celtic migration—that it was the last refuge of the Druids, and that the whole Celtic literature and records found here their last *asylum*.

In examining the most prominent features of the Irish history, the first thing which deserves our attention is its chronology, because it is here that all profane histories chiefly err. The Irish historians fix the first population of Ireland about 2,000 years before the Christian æra, which is nearly three centuries and a half after the deluge. Pinkarton himself is obliged to admit (vol. 2. p. 25.) that Ireland may have been peopled 2000 years before our æra, though he adds (in his usual polite and elegant language), *that it is a matter of supreme indifference at what time the savages of a Continent peopled a neighbouring island*. I am far from contending that the above is the exact date of the first population of Ireland. All I intend is, to shew that it is not

greatly exaggerated, otherwise Pinkerton would have animadverted on it with his usual severity. The Chaldeans and Chinese carry their chronology as high as 200,000 years. The Egyptians pretend to authentic records for more than 20,000 years. The Athenians superseded all chronology whatever, by pretending that they were *Autochthones*—i. e. *Earth-born*, or sprung from the soil which they inhabited. Nay Pinkerton himself (as formerly noticed) assigns to his beloved Goths or Scythians a probable endurance of many millions of years. The date, therefore, assigned by the Irish for the first population of Ireland, though perhaps over-rated a few centuries, is such an instance of chronological modesty as has no parallel in any of the nations of remote antiquity. Chronology is the very soul of history. Indeed, what is commonly denominated fable or tradition, is generally nothing else than historical facts, divested of chronological arrangement and accuracy.

The Irish historians are pretty uniform in fixing the institution of a grand seminary of learning at Tarah, about eight centuries prior to the Christian æra. That there were similar establishments in Gaul and Britain sixty years prior to our æra, is clearly proved by Cæsar. Nay, what is still more extraordinary, he assigns the decided pre-eminence and superiority to the British schools. Is it then in the slightest degree incredible that the Irish, descended from the same Celtic stock as the Gauls and Britons, should have the same literary institutions? The literary attainments ascribed to the Druids by Cæsar, and other Roman historians, could not have been the result of less than a thousand years study. It is impossible to fix the exact æra of the first establishment of literary seminaries in Gaul and Britain. But from the circumstances stated by Cæsar, that the British schools greatly excelled those of Gaul, and that the discipline of the Druids was supposed to have been invented in Britain, and thence transferred into Gaul, we are clearly authorized to infer, that these establishments were of remote antiquity. That Britain was peopled from Gaul, and derived Druidism from the same source, can admit of no doubt. Many centuries must

therefore have intervened, before Britain, in literary attainments, could excell the parent country, and so completely obscure and pervert the history of Gaul, as to induce a belief, even amongst the Gauls themselves, that they derived Druidism from Britain. At any rate, it is certain that in Cæsar's time there were seminaries of education both in Gaul and Britain; that these seminaries were well attended; that the branches of education taught were so numerous and complicated, as to require twenty years study; and that the British schools had so far gained the ascendancy, that the Gallic students resorted to Britain for the purpose of perfecting their studies. The intercourse with Ireland was equally easy; and it would be contrary to analogy and common sense to suppose that it was destitute of similar institutions. The records of the Irish have, in some measure, been preserved, whilst those of the other Celtic nations have been lost; and when their historians fix the first literary establishment in Ireland 800 years before our æra, we are well warranted, from the testimony of Cæsar, and all other collateral and concomitant circumstances, to reckon the date not greatly over-rated.

The Irish historians mark the first century of our æra as a very remarkable one. The Irish laws, which had been preserved only in traditionary poems, were, by the command of King *Concovar*, who died about the year 48, committed to writing. The reason assigned for this measure is, that the Druids and Bards had, from time immemorial, interpreted these traditionary laws as they pleased. This is said to have produced an insurrection of the people, by which the Druids and Bards were in danger of being exterminated. They fled to *Concovar*, who gave them protection; and, in order to quiet his subjects, appointed a number of the most eminent Druids to compile an intelligible and distinct body of laws, and commit them to writing, that they might be clearly understood, and no longer be submitted to the arbitrary interpretation of the Druids. But what could have induced the Irish, at this particular *crisis*, to rise against a body of men whom they had always venerated, and to whose decisions they had, from time immemorial, implicitly submitted? The Irish

historians have here acted very uncandidly, in withholding the true cause, and only stating its effects. But the truth is, the reign of Concovar coincides with that of the Emperor Claudius, who completed the expulsion of the Druids from Gaul and Britain. Cæsar, instead of conquering Britain, only pointed it out to his successors. His immediate successors, Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, made no attempt on Britain. Claudius succeeded to the empire in 41, and in 43 made a conquest of the greater part of the island. The cruel edicts of Tiberius probably reached only the Druids in Gaul, and drove them over to Britain; but Claudius completed their extirpation, and compelled them to take refuge in Ireland. The influx of the Druids of Gaul and Britain must have produced a strong sensation in Ireland. The traditionary laws, suited to the local peculiarities of the different districts of Gaul and Britain, perhaps ill accorded with those of Ireland; and as this little island must now have been greatly overstocked with Druids, every one of whom would persist in interpreting the traditionary laws, according to the meaning which they bore in that peculiar district, from which he had emigrated, the confusion was irretrievable; and the Irish, who had without reluctance submitted to the interpretation of their own Druids, spurned that of foreigners as *novel*, and by no means suited to their peculiar circumstances. The selection of the most eminent Druids to compile, and commit to writing, a new code of laws, was a measure dictated no less by sound policy than by imperious necessity. The different laws made by *Tuathal*, *Cormac*, &c. to restrain the licence of the Bards, and preserve the history of Ireland pure and uncorrupted, owed their origin to the same cause. The historical records of Gaul and Britain were unquestionably more ancient than those of Ireland; and having been conveyed thither by the Druids, expelled from Gaul and Britain, the Irish history run the risk of being completely superseded, or at least greatly intermixed. Concovar carried his measures no farther than to compile a new body of laws, but *Tuathal* appointed the compilation of a new history, and in all

time coming a triennial revision of the books of the antiquaries, by three Kings, three Druids, and three Antiquaries.

But what will place the number, as well as the antiquity, of the Irish manuscripts on an incontrovertible basis is, that St. Patrick, on his arrival, burnt 300 of them. This fact is as well attested as the existence of the *saint* himself. We have, however, no reason to conclude that these were the whole of the Irish manuscripts, but only such as contained the mysteries and religious rites of the Druids. Their historical manuscripts did not come within this description. Indeed it is evident, from Toland's quotations from these manuscripts, that even all those of the former description were not burnt, but that many of the formularies of the Druids, and much of their mythology, is extant in manuscript. He has given us a list of a dozen Druids, whilst Dr. Smith has not been able to condescend on one. Another circumstance, and that not the least important, is, that the only specimen of the Celtic alphabet which has survived the wreck of time, has been preserved by the Irish.

I have already remarked, that it is impossible to treat the Irish manuscripts with any degree of critical accuracy, so long as they remain unpublished. In this case all that I could do is to state the jarring opinions of those who have written on the subject, which, to the inferior class of my readers, could be of little service, and to those of a superior description, could convey no information of which they are not already possessed. As these notes have already extended to more than double the size originally intended, I shall conclude with a few remarks on the *Duan Albanach*, and the much agitated question whether *Ireland* was *Scotland*, or *vice versa*. The reader will find a copy of this Irish poem in O'Connor's *Dissertation*, O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, or the Appendix to Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*.

The *Duan Albanach*—i. e. the *Scottish song*, or rather, the *historical song of the Scots*, is an Irish poem of great antiquity, and was certainly begun prior to the æra of St. Patrick. It is not like the *Chronicon Pictorum*, and other more modern productions, debased by monkish etymological nonsense.

The *Duan Albanach* gives us the very name of the Scots Highlanders, which they retain to this day; and considering the avidity of the Irish to establish that Ireland was Scotland, and the Irish the original Scots, I think it amounts to demonstration that this poem was begun, and had received its title, before this foolish whim had entered the heads of the Irish, and before the name *Scot* was in existence. Had it been otherwise, they would certainly have named it the *Duan Scaothach*. The truth is, that in the Irish, as well as the Gaelic language, Scotland is uniformly named *Alba*, and the inhabitants *Albanach*. The *Chronicon Pictorum*, a monkish production of the 13th century (as is generally supposed), and composed in Latin, gravely tells us—*Gentes Scitiæ (Scotiæ) albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus; et ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit, et inde dicuntur Albani*—i. e. “The nations of Scotland are born with white hair, on account of the continual snows; and the colour of their hair gave name to the nation, and hence they are called *Albani*.” I have already shewn that the *Damnii* were the most numerous and the most widely extended of the Scottish tribes. These were, from their local situation, denominated *Meatach* and *Albanach*, which the Romans and monkish writers latinized *Meatæ* and *Albani*—i. e. *Lowlanders* and *Highlanders*. In the Celtic language *Alb*, or *Alp*, always signifies a *height*; and its adjective *Albanach*, or *Alpanach*, always signifies *high*. *Alb* (generally pronounced *Alp*) is the radix of the Latin *Alpes*, *Albus*, &c. This name is of great antiquity. *Alba* is the name of a town in Latium, and of another in Pannonia. We have *Alba*, a river in Spain; *Albania*, a town of Arabia Felix; *Albania*, a region reaching from the Caspian Sea to the Palus Mæotis; *Albanus*, the name of a hill in Latium, and of two towns, the one in Macedonia, and the other in Armenia Major; *Albia*, a hilly district bordering on the Carni; *Albü*, the ancient name of the Alps; *Albiona*, a town of the Ligures; *Albis*, the ancient name of the Elbe, &c. In Great Britain I need only mention *Albion*, *Breadalbane*, *Drumalban*, *Glen-mor-na h-Alban*, *Alba*, *Albarach*, &c. The affinity of these names, and many more which could be adduced,

clearly establish the prevalence of the Celtic language, and the wide extent of their ancient possessions. But it was certainly a most egregious blunder in the writer of the *hronicon Pictorum*, to render the Celtic *Albanach*, white, which, in fact, signifies hilly or mountainous. The Roman and Celtic meaning of the word can easily be reconciled. Hills, from being frequently covered with snow, or from their hoary cliffs, convey the idea of whiteness, as well as of elevation. The Celts have, therefore, retained the primary, and the Romans the secondary, or adventitious signification. That *Albus*, among the Latians, signified *high*, is evident from Livy; (lib. 1.) who tells us that *Alba Longa* was so named from its being built on a long *Dorsum*, or emblence. *Alba Longa* literally signifies the long *Dorsum*, or ridge.

But to return to the *Duan Albanach*, it is worthy of remark that it has been greatly mutilated. There is no point in ancient history better established, than the arrival of an Irish colony in Argyleshire, under *Riada*, about the middle of the third century. About the middle of the fifth, this colony was defeated by the Picts, took refuge in Ireland, and did not return till the year 503. In the above poem, the first colony is omitted altogether, and it commences with *Loarn*, the leader of the second colony in 503. The Irish historians have, by this means, contrived to date the arrival of this colony posterior to the departure of the Romans, that it might be believed there were no Scots in Scotland during the Roman period, and that such as are mentioned by the Roman writers, were auxiliaries sent from Ireland to assist in repelling the Romans. Had the Irish claim been well founded, there was no occasion for resorting to so mean and desperate an expedient.

Claudian, the panegyrist, has given rise to the whole fable in the following lines:

—Maduerunt Saxone fuso
 • Orcades; incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;
 Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne—

i. e. "The Orkneys were wet with the blood of the routed Sax-

ons; Thule was warm with the blood of the Picts; and icy Ierne mourned the slaughtered heaps of Scots." Unfortunately we have many places bearing the name of *Ierne*. It is the most ancient Greek name of Ireland. It is the name of a lake (Erne) in that kingdom. It is the name of a mountain and river of the *Artabri*, in Spain. It is the name of a lake and river in Perthshire, and of a river in Murrayshire, &c. Amidst this ambiguity and confusion, the real scene of the Roman actions with the Scots, must determine which is the *Ierne* in question. We know that the Romans did not fight with the Scots in Ireland or in Spain. Strath-erne, in Scotland, is undoubtedly the Ierne here meant; and the term *glacialis* (icy) is certainly more applicable to the river *Erne*, than to the kingdom of Ireland. In Strath-erne we have many superb Roman monuments, particularly a Roman camp, (see *Gordon's Itiner. Septent.* plate 5.) still retaining the name of *Galgachan*, where the battle between Agricola and Galgacus is supposed to have been fought. But were we even to grant that *Ierne* was Ireland, and that (as Claudian says) it lamented the defeat of the Scots, still it does not follow that Ireland was the native country of the Scots, otherwise it must also follow, that Iceland (the real Thule) was the native country of the Picts, and Orkney of the Saxons. Ireland might lament the defeat of the Scots, who were endeavouring to set bounds to an enemy formidable to all the world, because the discomfiture of any intervening army brought the danger still nearer to themselves.

I have already remarked, that the ambiguity of Tacitus misled his editor so far as to make Ireland (*Hibernia*) the chief scene of Agricola's actions during the third, fourth, and fifth years of his residence in Britain. The before cited passage of Claudian is equally ambiguous, and has given full scope to Monkish fable and conjecture. What is still more to be regretted is, the affinity of *Hibernia* to the Roman adjective *Hibernus*, which signifies wintry or cold, and has led superficial writers into many errors. Calepine, in the word *Hibernia*, tells us, that it is supposed to be derived from *Hibernus*, *propter hiemis*

longitudinem, on account of the length of the winter. From the time of Columba till the twelfth century, the Irish were almost the only clergy in Scotland, and modelled the history of the Scots to suit their own vanity. The adventitious circumstance of an Irish colony having settled in Argyleshire about the middle of the third century, gave an air of plausibility to the imposture, and, like the Germanic origin of the Caledonians, hinted at by Tacitus, it has been twisted about and about in every direction, and is as keenly contested at the present day, as the first moment the discussion began. On the evidence of Calepine, the Romans reckoned Ireland a cold country, and that it derived its name from this very circumstance. Perhaps this mistake induced Ptolemy to place Ireland due north of Scotland, instead of west, the former being the colder position of the two; and this very error of Ptolemy has tended not a little to perplex the point in question.

There is not a passage in any Roman author whatever, which can in the remotest degree imply that Ireland was Scotland, whilst every one of them clearly implies that Scotland was Ireland. Had the Scots, so formidable to the Romans, been Irish auxiliaries, it could not have escaped the Roman historians to a man. The Romans, on the contrary, had a most contemptible opinion of Ireland. Tacitus tells us (*Vit. Agric. cap. 8.*) that Agricola placed garrisons on the coast of Britain, opposite to Ireland, *in spem magis quam ob formidinem*—i. e. “from the hope of advantageous intercourse, rather than from any dread of their arms;” and in the same chapter adds, “that Ireland might be conquered and kept by one legion and a few auxiliaries—*Legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari Hiberniam, obtinerique posse.*” It is well known that the Roman prætentures, from Solway Firth to the river Tyne, and from Clyde to Forth, were constructed to resist the invasions of the Scots and Picts. But had these incursions been from Ireland, the Romans would certainly have fortified the coast opposite to it, and opposed these barriers to the greatest danger. We are well warranted to infer, that the most formidable defence would be opposed to the

most formidable danger; but against Ireland they were no defence at all, because the whole west coast of Britain lay open to the Irish, and they could have landed to the south of either prætenture. Indeed, the silly fiction that the Scots were Irish auxiliaries, never obtained, till the influence of the Irish ecclesiastics had gained the ascendancy in Scotland, and on the decline of this influence, the fable was exploded. The venerable Bede, a writer of the eighth century, under the year 324, mentions the Scots and Picts as invading the Roman province in the time of Honorius, and calls both of them *transmarine nations*; not (says he) that they were a people settled out of Britain, but they may be called *transmarine*, by being, as it were, separated from the conquered province (*Valentia*) to the southward, by the two Firths of Clyde and Forth.—See Gordon's *Itin.* p. 141. Tacitus, speaking of the same people, and of the same part of the country, says, *Summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus*—i. e. “the enemy being removed, as if into another island.” In another place, speaking of that part of the island south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, he calls it *Britanniam ipsam*—“Britain proper,” and that part north of these Firths, *quasi aliam insulam*, as if another island. Is it then any wonder that men, totally ignorant of the geographical situation of the north of Scotland, should mistake it for an island totally distinct from Britain, and confound it with Ireland, the largest of the British islands. Bede and Gildas call the Picts, as well as the Scots, *transmarine nations*, on account of their Peninsular situation; and if the Scots were Irish, the Picts must also have been Irish—a point which their strenuous friend Pinkerton has resisted *totis viribus*. They who argue that the Scots were Irish auxiliaries, may, with equal propriety, argue that the Roman *prætentures*, *campus*, &c. and even *Valentia* itself, were in Ireland.

Whoever chuses to select the blemishes, the ambiguities, and the mistakes of ancient writers, may lay the foundation of any system he pleases. Mr. Pinkerton has, in this respect, shewn himself a great adept. His Gothic system rests on the basis of all that is absurd and exceptionable in ancient or modern writ-

ers. The man who sacrifices his judgment at the shrine of a favourite hypothesis, may, with a little ingenuity, do wonders. Strabo makes the Caspian Sea a gulf of the northern ocean. In order to establish this point, it is only necessary to suppose, that that part which is now *terra firma*, has been filled up since Strabo's time by the action and re-action of the tide. Many similar instances of repletion might be adduced. Propertius calls the Getæ (a nation of Thrace) *Hiberni Getæ*, which may be rendered (according to the modern Monkish acceptation) the *Irish Getæ*. Gildas, speaking of the Scots and Picts, says—*Romanis ad suos remeantibus emergunt certatim de curucis, quibus sunt trans Scythicam Vallem eVecti*—i. e. "The Romans having left Britain, they (the Scots and Picts) eagerly land from their currourhs (skin boats), in which they passed over the Scythian valley." This *Scythica* (Scotica) *vallis* was the Frith of Forth; but were we to take the natural import of the words, they might be rendered a valley of ancient Scythia. The Caledonians included all the inhabitants of the north of Scotland; and Tacitus mentions their *red hair* as a peculiar characteristic. Gildas, on the contrary, calls them *tetri Scotorum Pictorumque Græges*—i. e. "The black herds of Scots and Picts. Here we have a *red* and a *black* theory; and every one may adopt the one or the other, as best suits his purpose. Ten thousand instances of the same kind might be adduced.

The passages on which Pinkerton founds his theory that Scotland was Ireland, are exactly of the same description; and I shall notice a few of them. Bede, speaking of Ireland, says—*Hæc Scotorum patria est*—i. e. "This is the native country of the Scots. That the Dalriadic colony migrated from Ireland to Argyleshire, is not disputed; and that the name Scot originated with this colony, is equally allowed; but it is this very circumstance which has obscured the point in question. There is no impropriety in calling Ireland the native country of this colony, any more than in calling Britain the native country of the colony settled at Botany Bay; but certainly no one would thence infer that Britain and New Holland are one and the same identical

spot of ground. Bede has most probably mistaken Argyleshire for Hibernia; but be that as it may, he always places the Scots in Britain—*Scoti qui sunt in Britannia*—i. e. “the Scots who are in Britain;” and, as I have before noticed, tells us that he calls the Scots and Picts *transmarine*, not because they are placed out of Britain, but because of their peninsular situation beyond the Forth and Clyde. Giraldus, a writer of the twelfth century, in his *Descriptio Albanie*, says—*Montes qui dividunt Scotiam ab Aregathal*—i. e. “The mountains which divide Scotland from Argyle,” and calls the inhabitants *Gaeli* and *Hibernensis*—Gael or Irish. If this passage has any meaning at all, it certainly proves that Argyleshire was Hibernia or Ireland. Mr. Pinkerton ought not to have quoted this passage, as it makes directly against him. But he is one of those men who can strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel. Giraldus’ geographical ignorance is almost proverbial. This very author (as Pinkerton himself admits, vol. 2. p. 207.) mistakes *Scottiswath* (Solway Firth), for *Scottiswatre* (the Firth of Forth), and at one blow lops off, and adds to England that part of Scotland situated south of the Forth. If he did not know the limits of Scotland, where it was conterminous to his native country, what accuracy was to be expected respecting Argyleshire, which lay greatly more remote. Giraldus chiefly dabbled in Irish history, and had imbibed many of their false notions respecting Scotland. It was, indeed, very consistent in him, after having appropriated the most valuable half of Scotland to England, to make Ireland a present of Argyleshire. It is, however, extremely unaccountable in Pinkerton, after having repeatedly asserted that the *Dalriads* of Argyleshire were the original Scots, to cite this very passage to prove that Argyleshire formed no part of Scotland. That Giraldus considered Argyleshire as *Hibernia* (Ireland) is evident from his calling the inhabitants (*Hibernenses*) Irish. Isidorus (quoted by Pinkerton) says, *Scotia eadem et Hibernia*; i. e. “Scotland the same as Ireland,” but this only proves that Scotland was sometimes called Ireland. He then quotes St. Bernard, a writer of the twelfth century, who says of St. Malachy,

ab ulteriori Scotia usque cucurrit ille ad mortem—i. e. “He ran from further Scotland, even to death.” Mr. Pinkarton is generally very unfortunate in his quotations; and this very one has completely ruined his cause. If there was a *Scotia ulterior*, there must also have been a *Scotia citerior*, a hither Scotland; and the truth is, that the Dalriads, an Irish colony, settled in Argyleshire about the middle of the third century, and were called *Hiberni*, Irish. This circumstance gave rise to two *Hiberniæ* (Irelands), the one in Scotland, and the other in Ireland. But this colony soon received the name Scots (colonists or emigrants). This again gave rise to two Scotlands, which Bernard very properly denominates *Uterior* and *Citerior*. The claim of the Irish is, in this case, of the very same nature with that already noticed respecting the poems of Ossian. The Irish claim this colony, its martial exploits against the Romans, its name, &c. because of its Irish origin; and this circumstance has misled many respectable writers. But, as I have already observed, this contest is of no importance to the Scots, because it can be satisfactorily established, even on the evidence of Pinkarton himself, that Scotland was the *parent*, not only of Ireland, but of the very colony in question.

The Irish historians uniformly admit that the *Tuath de Danan* (race of the Danan or Damnii) migrated from Scotland to Ireland 1250 years before the Christian æra. That these *Danan* were the *Damnii* of North Britain, has been generally allowed; and even Pinkarton himself has, without reluctance, repeatedly acceded to it. These *Damnii*, according to Ptolemy, possessed from Galloway to the Tay. Pinkarton himself adds Galloway to their territories, and Richard of Cirencester adds Fife. The last mentioned author also places a tribe of the *Damnii Albani* (Highland Damnii) in Argyleshire. Hence it is clear that the *Damnii* possessed the west coast of Scotland throughout nearly its whole extent. I have formerly remarked, that *Albani* and *Meatae* (*Albanach* and *Meatach*, or *Meudach*) are merely local discriminations of one and the same people, the *Damnii*. Pinkarton himself is obliged to admit that the *Damnii Albani* (vol.

2. p. 72.) formed at least a part of the Dalriadic colony; and again (v. 2. p. 234.) admits that *Scoti* and *Albani* were synonymous with writers of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth century. Hoveden (quoted by Pinkarton, v. 2. p. 235.) has the following remarkable passage, when describing the war of the standard in 1138—*Exclamavitque simul exercitus Scottorum insigne patrum; et ascendit clamor usque in cælum, Albani! Albani!*—i. e. “and the army of the Scots, with one voice, vociferated their native distinction, and the shout of *Albani! Albani!* (Highlanders! Highlanders!) ascended even to the heavens.” From this remarkable passage we learn that *Albani* was the native badge or distinction of the Scots. To this it is only necessary to add that the *Duan Albanach* uniformly calls the Dalriadic colony *Albanach*, and their country *Alba*. Nay Pinkarton himself says (v. 1. p. 224.) that the *Damnii Albani* and *Attacotti* were the first Scots from Ireland, and arrived in Argyile about the year 258. Having thus identified the *Damnii Albani*, *Dalriadi*, and *Scots*, the result clearly is, that a colony of the *Damnii* migrated from North Britain to Ireland 1250 years (as the Irish historians themselves declare) before our æra, and that a tribe of the same *Damnii* returned to Argyleshire about the middle of the third century. It is here particularly worthy of remark, that though 1500 years had intervened from the migration of the *Damnii* to Ireland, till their return to Argyleshire about the year 258, they had inflexibly retained their name, viz. *Damnii Albani*; and though *Damnii* is now omitted, they retain the name *Albanach*, even to the present hour. Neither the Irish nor Mr. Pinkarton have much reason, therefore, to pique themselves on the Irish Dalriadic colony, because it can be proved to demonstration, even from their own arguments, that the ancestors of this colony emigrated from North Britain to Ireland. But the most unaccountable conceit of all is, that Pinkarton should insist that the name *Scot* originated in Ireland, whilst, in fact, they have no such name in their language, neither have the Scots themselves any such name in their dialect of the Celtic. In both languages the word used for Scot is uniformly

Albanach; and even in Galloway, where the name *wild Scot* is still proverbial, it is expressed, if we credit Buchanan, by *Gallid*, the literal import of which is *Galli sylvestres*. The *quasi alia Insula* of Tacitus, the *Glacialis Ierne* of Claudian, the *Hiberni* and *Picti* of Eumenius, the *Scotti* and *Picti* of Ammianus, with a few other ambiguous passages of the Roman authors, gave a plausible pretext for the ridiculous fiction that *Scotia Antiqua* was Ireland. Sensible that the whole tenour of Roman evidence was against them, the Irish mutilated the *Duan Albanach*, passed over the first Scottish colony under *Riada*, with barely mentioning it, and then proceeded to the second colony, under *Loarn* and *Fergus*, in 503. Having thus overstepped the Roman period in Britain, they gravely tell us that there were no Scots in Britain till 503, and that the Scots mentioned by the Romans were Irish auxiliaries, not resident in Scotland, and that consequently Ireland was Scotland. This foundation being laid, it is not to be wondered at, considering the influence and number of the Irish Ecclesiastics, not only in Britain, but on the Continent of Europe, that this fraudulent imposition was widely spread, and took deep root. Usher, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, O'Flaherty, Keating, and many other respectable writers, were imposed on, and positively deny the existence of the first colony altogether; and had it not been the publication of the *Duan Albanach*, mutilated as it is, the error had been irretrievable. Mr. Toland, (see his *Nazarenus*) contrary to the opinion of the other Irish historians, had the honesty and disinterestedness to assert the existence of the first colony.

Before dismissing this subject, it may not be improper to hazard a few remarks on the probable origin of the word *Scot*. Ammianus, under the year 360, is the very first who mentions the Scots and Picts, making war on the Romans. But he does not drop a single hint that they were Irish auxiliaries. On the contrary, he always speaks of them as immediate, and at hand. The next author who mentions them is Hieronymus. In order to get over the evidence of this author as superficially as possible, Mr. Pinkerton inserts *Attacotti* instead of *Scotti*, and tells us

that St. Jerome says they ate human flesh. The passage to which he alludes is thus quoted by Calepine, an eminent lexicographer, who wrote about 1490. *Quid (inquit) loquor de cæteris nationibus quum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Scotos gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus?*—Vide Dictionarium in verbo *Scoti*—i. e. “Why (says Hieronymus) do I speak of other nations, since I myself, when a boy, saw the Scots, a British nation in Gaul, eat human flesh.” It would have been convenient enough for Pinkarton to allow that the *Scots* ate human flesh, but not equally so that they were a *Britannic* nation, for which reason he inserts the *Attacotti* in their stead. St. Jerome (Hieronymus) was born 342, and died 420.—(See *Cave's Hist. Literar.*) If we allow St. Jerome to be 18 years old (an age fully commensurate to the word *Adolescentulus*) when he saw the Scots in Gaul, he must have seen them about 360, the very year when Ammianus first mentions them. These Scots were unquestionably mercenary troops in the Roman armies in Gaul. From the *Notitia Imperii*, a work of the fifth century, it is clear that the Romans employed foreign forces from all nations, and not a few from North Britain. St. Jerome imputes to them the custom of eating human flesh; and this very circumstance would induce him to be particular in his enquiries respecting their name and nation. The Roman officers who commanded them in Gaul, and had levied them in Britain, were capable of giving him the correctest information; and when he pronounces the Scots *Britannicam Gentem*—“a British nation,” his authority is more than a counterpoise to all that has been advanced on the other side of the question. St. Jerome saw these Scots in Gaul more than 50 years before the Romans abandoned Britain, and at least three centuries before the Irish claim to Scotland and the Scots was started. The only argument which can be adduced against these authorities is, that St. Patrick converted the Scots in Ireland, and therefore the Scots must have been Irish. The very first name of Scots in Ireland appears in the letters of St. Patrick, published by Usher. But the æra of this saint was the very period when the old Scots of Argyle, after a signal defeat by the

Picts, were obliged to take refuge in Ireland. Their residence in Ireland is variously stated at from 17 to 40 years. They returned to Argyleshire under *Loarn* and *Fergus*, the sons of *Erc*, about the end of the fifth century. The Scots mentioned by St. Patrick were therefore the identical Dalriads, or aboriginal Scots of Argyleshire. That St. Patrick converted this colony is clear from the *Duan Albanach*, which says,—

Tri mic Eirc, mhic Eachach ait,
Triar fuair beanpachtain Phadraic—

i. e. “The three sons of Erc, the son of Eachach the Great, obtained the benediction of Patrick.” Pinkerton, the grand adversary of the Scots, is as express to this point as words can make it. *Beda’s Scots* (says he, v. 2. p. 260.) *in Britain were but the inhabitants of Argyle, a petty district, and were converted to Christianity during their exile in Ireland, from 446 to 503.* And again, (v. 2. p. 266.) *in 460 Patrick converts the Dalreudini, or old British Scots of Argyle, then exiled in Ireland, as he does the other Irish; and prophesies that Fergus, the son of Erc, shall be a king, and father of kings.* It is a matter of the extremest facility to identify the Scots of St. Patrick and the Scots of Argyle, by numerous and respectable authorities; but Mr. Pinkerton has done it himself, and saved me the trouble. It is therefore historic truth that the inhabitants of Argyleshire are the aboriginal Scots—that they are mentioned by Ammianus and Hieronymus as early as 360—that the name Scot was unknown in Ireland till 460, and when known, belonged not to the Irish, but solely and exclusively to the aboriginal Scots of Argyleshire, then exiles in Ireland. Hence the extreme anxiety of the Irish to suppress all knowledge of the first colony under *Riada*, and to commence the Scottish name with the second colony under *Loarn* and *Fergus*, the sons of *Erc*. It is pitiful, it is really distressing, to see Mr. Pinkerton flatly contradict himself so often. Having, as before stated, admitted in the most unequivocal terms that the Scots of St. Patrick were the old Scots of Argyleshire, he totally forgets himself, and says (v. 2.

p. 225.) *the Scots to whom Patrick was sent are perfectly known to have been only Irish.*

But prior to the year 460, the very name Scot was totally unknown in Ireland, whereas it was well known in Scotland a full century earlier. If the Irish were the original *Scoti*, and Ireland the original *Scotia*; and if these names passed in process of time from Ireland to Scotland, it must be proved that the Irish and Ireland bore these names prior to the year 360. This is sifting the matter to the bottom; and Pinkerton, sensible that nothing less would serve the purpose, has hazarded the attempt. He sets out (v. 2. p. 45, &c.) with the assumption that *Scyth* and *Scot*, *Scythia* and *Scotia*, are synonymous. That *Belgæ*, *Cauci*, and *Menapii*, were to be found in Ireland; and that the *Belgæ* were *Scots*, because the *Belgæ* were Scythians. I have already shewn, on the testimony of Cæsar and Tacitus, that the *Belgæ* were Celts. But waving this objection altogether, instead of proof, we have nothing but impudent and groundless assertion. But were his assertions as well founded as they are completely the reverse, still the inference drawn from them totally ruins the very point which he wishes to establish; for if *Scythia* and *Scotia* are synonymous, it must follow that *Scythia*, and not *Ireland*, was the original *Scotland*. The childish idea that *Scythians* and *Scots* were synonymous, is borrowed from the ridiculous preambles to the *Chronicon Pictorum*, in which is the following remark on the Scots:—*Scotti (qui nunc corrupte vocantur Hibernienses) quasi Sciti, quia a Scithia regione venerunt; sive a Scotta filia Pharaonis regis Egypti quæ fuit, ut fertur, regina Scotorum*—i. e. “The Scots (who are now improperly called Irish), as if Scythians, because they came from the country of Scythia; or from *Scotta*, the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who was, as is reported, queen of the Scots.” The Chronicle tells us also, —*Gothi a Magog filio Japheth nominati putantur, de similitudine ultimæ syllabæ*—i. e. “The Goths are thought to be named from Magog, the son of Japheth, from the resemblance of the last syllable.” Whoever would found any thing on such nonsense as this, is certainly reduced to the last extremity. He who

can derive *Goth* from *Magog*, need not hesitate to identify *Scythia* and *Scotia*. But if synonymity is of any avail in this case, *Scotia*, Pharoah's daughter, has a better title to be called *Scotia* than even *Scythia* itself. Mr. Pinkarton set out with the avowed intention of proving that Ireland was ancient Scotland, instead of which he has conferred that honour on ancient *Scythia*, and might, with equal justice, have conferred it on *Mexico* or *Madagascar*.

The most probable *etymon* of the word *Scot*, is the Celtic *Scaoth* or *Scuth*, meaning a swarm or colony; and hence (as colonies are generally not composed of the most respectable materials) it frequently signifies an exile, fugitive, wanderer, &c. This last signification well expresses the migratory habits of the *Scythians*; and if there is any affinity betwixt *Scythian* and *Scot*, the clear inference is, that the *Scythians* were *Celts*, and their language Celtic, otherwise the radical meaning of the word would not have been lost in all other languages, and preserved in the Celtic alone. We all know that the *Dalriads*, who first bore the name of *Scots*, were Irish emigrants; and I am verily persuaded, that the name was given them by their Celtic neighbours the *Picts*, for the sake of distinction, or, perhaps, from contempt. The original name appears to have been *Scaoth Erinach* (Irish fugitives), which has often been rendered in Latin *Hiberni Scoti*, which Mr. Pinkarton, contrary to all reason, makes a proof that the Irish were *Scots*, and renders *the Scots in Ireland*. But *Hiberni Scoti* literally means *Irish fugitives*; and could there remain any doubt on this head, it is completely obviated by *Bede* and *Gildas*, who repeatedly call the *Scots* *Hiberni Grassatores*. *Scaoth Erinach*, *Hiberni Scoti*, and *Hiberni Grassatores*, are phrases strictly synonymous; nor indeed could the Celtic *Scaoth*, when taken in an opprobrious sense, be more aptly rendered than by the Latin *Grassator*.

I do not, however, wish to be understood as by any means impugning the antiquity of the Irish manuscripts. I only blame the selfish use to which they have been applied. Ireland must rank posterior to *Gaul* and *Britain*, in point of early literature;

but on the expulsion of the Druids from these kingdoms, it was enriched with the spoils of both. The Irish have, therefore, an obvious interest in not publishing these manuscripts. The moment they are published, a great part of these records would infallibly turn out to be, not the history of Ireland, but that of Gaul and Britain. This is evidently the case with the *Duan Albanach*, which is strictly and literally the history of Argyleshire. But having this important document in their custody, the Irish laid claim to the whole Scottish name and achievements, up to the eleventh century. Indeed, I do not hesitate to state, that whatever is recoverable of the early Celtic literature, history, and mythology, either of Gaul or Britain, is to be found in Ireland, and in Ireland alone; and I sincerely hope that the publication of the Irish manuscripts will speedily be made a national concern. The English language is making rapid progress, and if this undertaking is delayed half a century longer, all is lost, in *antiquum confundimur chaos*.

THE END.